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ABSTRACT

This report on adult education in the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member countries is primarily intended for policymakers but is also designed for use by professional adult educators and others concerned in developing the full potential of adult education as a service to the individual and society. Content is in eight sections. Section 1 briefly introduces the report's main theme: The provision of a well-endowed, nationwide adult education service has become an essential policy requirement in all modern societies. Section 2 assesses the present status of adult education and reveals gaps in national and local provisions. The third section discusses definitions of adult education, individual and collective learning needs, and the reachability of underprivileged adults. Issues and problems that arise in developing a comprehensive public adult education service are raised in section 4, which also analyzes the essential components of such a service with particular reference to structural factors. Section 5 analyzes the interrelationships between adult education on the one hand, and the formal education system and the world of work on the other, and section 6 discusses resources, including financial policies, support for nongovernmental agencies, and participants' fees. Section 7 discusses practical measures to widen access to adult learning opportunities. Four alternative future adult education policy options for OECD member countries are presented in the final section. (EM)

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Learning opportunities for adults

VOL. I

GENERAL REPORT

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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- to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;
- to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;
- to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

The Members of OECD are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

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Director of Information, OECD
2, rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16, France.

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PREFACE

The present volume is the first of four studies in adult education in OECD countries. The second and third volumes consist of country case-studies which are centred around problems of non-participation and non-traditional forms of learning. The fourth volume furnishes quantitative evidence about the magnitude of adult education activity in selected countries and the characteristics of participants.

The central argument of the present study is that the education of adults is moving from a marginal position in relation to formal education systems to take a more central place in society's overall provision for education. This transition requires the public authorities to formulate comprehensive policies for it within the broad context of overall educational development strategies. Countries opting for a recurrent education strategy will seek increasingly to integrate adult education into the overall system. Other countries will wish to maintain a diversified pattern of education within which adult education will be treated as a discrete sector and co-ordinated with the other sectors to the extent considered appropriate.

The study begins by assessing the present status of adult education and revealing the gaps in the national and local provision of adult education, as well as structural and logistical weaknesses. After a discussion of individual and collective learning needs, it goes on to stress that disadvantaged groups of adults tend not to participate in existing adult education programmes and that there is an urgent necessity to stimulate their interest.

The main section of the report raises the issues and problems that arise in developing a comprehensive public service of adult education and analyses the essential components of such a service with particular reference to structural factors. These components include planning, administrative and co-ordinating mechanisms, legislative requirements, the contribution of non-governmental agencies and the supply of resources, especially of adequate financial support. The case for widening access to learning opportunities by means of more efficient information and delivery systems is also considered.

The policy options available to countries are presented in the concluding section. They are based on an analysis of the

interrelationships between adult education on the one hand, and the formal education system and the world of work on the other.

Although primarily designed for policy-makers Learning Opportunities for Adults will be of interest to professional adult educators and all those concerned to develop the full potential of adult education as a service both to the individual and to society.

The present report was approved by the Education Committee of OECD which recommended its publication.

I. INTRODUCTION

In this paper adult education refers to any learning activity or programme deliberately designed to satisfy any learning need or interest that may be experienced at any stage in his or her life by a person who is over the statutory school-leaving age and whose principal activity is no longer in education. Its ambit thus spans non-vocational, vocational, general, formal or non-formal studies as well as education with a collective social purpose.

The main theme of the paper is that the provision of a well-endowed, nationwide adult education service has become an essential policy requirement in all modern societies for both social and economic, as well as cultural, reasons. A dynamic adult education service is essential in enabling societies as well as individuals to adapt to the effects of rapid change, for in order that change may occur without disruptive conflicts and at a reasonable tempo it is necessary for adults not merely to react to policies planned from above but to become on their own initiative participants in the evolutionary process. They cannot be expected to perform a constructive personal role, however, unless they are sufficiently knowledgeable about the external forces affecting their own lives and the community at large to be able to choose discriminatingly wise courses of action from among available options. Economic growth is achieved through the constant application of scientific, technological and organisational skills to industrial and agricultural production at all levels and this implies that optimal use must be made of human ability, which in turn can only be achieved by increasing the extent and efficiency of adult learning. In addition, rising incomes and increased leisure pose a new challenge to meet a more diversified need in cultural and recreational activity and expression among broader sectors of society. In short, the task of adult education is not only to extend formal educational facilities and to maintain the competence of the labour force at the required level but to assist people to interpret what urbanisation, social mobility, fluctuating employment demands, inter-generational conflicts and all the other effects of unprecedentedly rapid change mean for them in the context of their own communities, and to ascertain what positive contribution they can directly make to the general welfare and to the resolution of their own personal problems.

Growing recognition of the above considerations is reflected in public pronouncements about the value of adult education, which are becoming more and more common. Nor can it be denied that a good deal of constructive adult learning is taking place. But societies in general do not treat adult education as a high social priority and in practice it therefore lacks the resources to make a forceful impact upon contemporary problems. The challenge is how to expand, diversify and rationalise the present provision of learning opportunities so that adult education may operationally pursue the societal objectives today rhetorically ascribed to it.

II. THE PRESENT POSITION

ANTECEDENTS

Historically, organised adult education in OECD Member countries has performed six separate functions for a small minority of the population:

i) providing remedial and basic education for those who had not gone to school or who had not profited from school or who had left school at an early age;
ii) giving already educated adults an opportunity to further their intellectual and cultural development with or without reference to the conferment of academic credentials;
iii) enabling a relatively small number of actual or potential working-class leaders to further their education so that they might increase their usefulness to their fellow-workers;
iv) providing occupationally related courses for relatively restricted groups;(1)
v) providing courses designed to promote good citizenship through the encouragement of popular educational movements;
vi) providing courses for the socialisation of immigrants.

In each country varying stress has been placed on these different functions and from the national standpoint there has been either not much effort or no effort at all to relate them to each other.(2) Several countries have drawn a sharp distinction between

1) A similar view of its past functions has been expressed by J.A. Simpson when considering the development of adult education in Western Europe:

"A comprehensive definition of the kind we use contrasts markedly with the concept of adult education usually accepted in a number of our countries in the era that preceded the Second World War. There was, of course, no uniform pattern at that time, any more than today, because of the differing sets of historical circumstances in which adult education originated and developed in each country."

J.A. Simpson, Today and Tomorrow in European Adult Education, (Strasbourg, 1972), p.29.

2) Cf.
"1. The institutions of adult education have typically emerged in response to specific needs, rather than as part of a general design for the continuing education of adults.

vocational and non-vocational education, the first being equated with "training" rather than the cultivation of the mind or education for self-fulfilment, which has been regarded as the primary aim of education. Very few countries have had an overall view of adult education or a clearly enunciated policy towards it. Its marginal status has been reflected in its complete separation from or peripheral position within the formal educational system and in its dependence upon meagre and irregular sources of income and other forms of support.

In a majority of countries the greater part of the provision of adult education has been made not by the public authorities but by voluntary agencies (such as workers' educational associations) or commercial organisations (such as correspondence schools). Although neglected, or at least relatively neglected by the public authorities, adult education institutions nevertheless have steadily grown in strength throughout the present century, particularly after the Second World War. From time to time new agencies have emerged in response to specific demands for new types of programme. Some of these agencies have been dissolved; a few have continued to exist long after they had ceased to serve a useful purpose; the great majority, however, have successfully adapted their programmes to meet fluctuating demands. The progress achieved has been largely the result of entrepreneurial efforts by groups of professional adult educators who have set themselves up in many countries as lobbies to advance the cause of adult education.

RAPID GROWTH RATE

The growth rate of adult education, both in quantitative and functional terms, remained steady until about 1960. Thereafter in most countries it climbed sharply in parallel with the spectacular

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Footnote 2, continued from previous page.

2. The developmental process of adult education has tended to be more episodic than consistent.

3. Institutional forms for the education of adults have tended to survive to the extent that they become attached to agencies established for other purposes.

4. Adult educational programmes have emerged with, and continue to occupy, a secondary status in the institutional hierarchy.

5. The institutional segments of the adult education movement have tended to become crystallized without reference to any conception of a general education movement."

M.S. Knowles, "Background: Historical Development" in M.S. Knowles ed., Handbook of Adult Education in the United States (Chicago 1960), p.26.

growth of secondary and post-secondary education.(1) The result is that today, despite the relative lack of public support, adult education is no longer serving a very small minority of national populations but a significant percentage (see Table 1).(2)

Several reasons can be adduced to account for the recent increase in the growth rate of adult education, over and above the overriding consideration to provide for the underprivileged. First, it is a direct result of the expansion of upper secondary and tertiary education. There is overwhelming evidence that the more initial education people acquire the more they wish to continue with their education in later life. As a result any expansion in the sector of initial education eventually leads to an expansion of adult education. Secondly, one of the consequences of the rapid pace of social and technological change is to make periodically obsolescent the existing stock of skills and knowledge possessed by men and women in the work-force and so to necessitate periodic occupational retraining. Thirdly, a large number of people take advantage of higher incomes and increasing leisure time to pursue intellectual, cultural or recreational interests, not only independently but under the sponsorship of educational agencies. Fourthly, and most significantly, the public authorities have begun, more or less cautiously according to individual national circumstances, to expand their own direct provision and to stimulate [illegible] active public interest in various forms of adult education.

INCREASING INVOLVEMENT OF THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

The recent increasing involvement of the public authorities in adult education has been inspired by a mixture of ethical and utilitarian concerns. First, it is generally recognised that if disadvantaged sections of society are to have the chance to improve their social and economic position then, among other things, they must have access to educational opportunities equivalent to those that they missed in their youth. Secondly, it is also generally recognised

1) In England and Wales, for example, the number of students attending classes between 1960 and 1970 provided by the local education authorities rose from 877,000 to 1,415,000, a gain of more than 50 per cent. In Japan, during the same period, the number of students taking correspondence courses under Social Education (i.e., adult education) programmes rose from 176,986 to 624,794.

2) Cf. "If it were possible to inventory all the educational activities for adults conducted by organisations in urban communities, adult education would exceed child-oriented education in terms of financing, the number of participants and the time committed to learning." ("Introduction" in J.E. Thornton, ed., "Adult Education in British Columbia", Jn. of Education, Univ. of Vancouver, No. 18, 1971, p.1.)

that in order to help disadvantaged children to profit from their schooling, it is necessary to modify the attitudes and to invoke the collaboration of their parents. Furthermore, it is well-known that adults who consciously pursue their own education are more favourably disposed to expansionist educational policies for the benefit of the whole community than those who do not. Thirdly, the efficiency of modern economies depends upon the continual improvement of the knowledge and skills of the labour force by means of appropriate training and retraining schemes. Fourthly, it becomes ever more clear that many of the acute problems facing contemporary societies cannot be solved even by the most enlightened of social and economic policies unless the man in the street is well-informed and socially active.(1) Fifthly, it is accepted that society has been expecting the schools to achieve too much and that several major educational tasks might more effectively be carried out by devising various forms of continuing education within a recurrent education framework.(2) Finally, while emphasizing access for educationally disadvantaged adults the public authorities acknowledge the necessity for access to education by all adults regardless of their economic and social status.

RELEVANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF RECURRENT EDUCATION

Arguments in favour of paying greater attention to adult education have been fortified by the increasing impact upon official thinking of the concepts of lifelong learning and recurrent education, since these concepts furnish a persuasive rationale for treating adult education as an integral component of educational systems. The policy implications of introducing recurrent education systems have been dealt with in detail by OECD in two major reports(3) and need not be reiterated here. They have reinforced the conclusion that, from the point of view of long-term planning strategies, the

1) Cf. "It should seek to improve living conditions and the general quality of life. Apathy, poverty, disease and hunger are major human evils facing the world today. They can be eradicated only by making people aware of what causes them and how to conquer them. Social improvement and adult education are thus complementary."

UNESCO, Final Report: Third International Conference on Adult Education (Paris 1972).

2) Cf. "It follows that adult education can no longer be a fringe sector of activity in any society and must be given its own proper place in educational policies and budgets. This means that school and out-of-school education must be linked firmly together!" (International Commission on the Development of Education: Learning to Be (Paris, 1972), p.205.)

3) OECD, Recurrent Education: a Strategy for Lifelong Learning (1973); Recurrent Education: Trends and Issues (1975).

Table I

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY TYPE IN SELECTED OECD COUNTRIES AROUND 1970*

Country	Year of Reference	Participants total (000s)	Participants in vocational education (000s)	Participants in general education (000s)	Total participants as per cent of adult population	Participants in vocational education as per cent of the labour for
Canada	1970/71	3,084	1,152	1,932	23	14
France	1971	-	1,600	-	-	8
Germany	1970 or 1971	8,953	1,917	7,036	20	7
Sweden	around 1970	2,036	239	1,797	34	6
United Kingdom	1970	6,041	2,951	3,090	15	12
United States	1969	13,150	4,839	8,311	10	6

*Data derived from papers prepared on behalf of the Working Party on Educational Statistics and Indicators.

closest possible co-ordination should be established between the youth and adult education sectors. Such co-ordination would contribute to breaking down the administrative and psychological barriers which currently inhibit those involved in formal education from responding to external events and prevent those outside from profiting from existing facilities. Moreover, from the point of view of economy, co-ordination of the sectors makes sense in terms of enabling the more effective use of limited resources. This notion of co-ordination recognises, of course, the specificity of objectives at each level of education and in no way implies imposing uniformity or pedagogical practices inappropriate for adults, or vice-versa. In many countries an expansion of the existing physical and staffing resources for adult education already offers a solid foundation on which to construct any future post-compulsory educational system based on the concept of recurrent education.

PRESENT ANOMALY

The upshot of recent developments is that adult education now faces a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, it is admitted to have important social and economic as well as intellectual and recreational functions and this has given it a different dimension in public concern from what it used to have in the past. Several countries - for example, Eire, England and Wales, Finland, the Netherlands, Scotland and Sweden - have appointed national commissions of enquiry or working parties to assess the need for it and to make recommendations for its expansion;(1) many governments have appointed national committees to investigate particular educational needs such as those of the aging and immigrants. In a recent survey prepared for the Council of Europe, J.A. Simpson referred to:

> the increasing belief among politicians, educationists, administrators and responsible members of the public, that the education of adults must be envisaged as more central to total educational provision, and not merely as a minor after-thought designed for special categories of persons such as those who have been unfortunate or those who maintain a dilettante interest in academic and cultural matters.(2)

On the other hand only a few countries have enunciated an explicit administrative and financial policy on adult education. In most

1) For example, during the sixties two presidentially-appointed advisory councils were set up in the United States: The National Advisory Council on Adult Education and The National Council on Extension and Continuing Education.

2) J.A. Simpson, Today and Tomorrow in European Adult Education, p.25.

countries. In spite of considerable growth in the last few years, it is not given the resources of a front-rank public service and its provision tends to be fragmentary, under-financed, and under-staffed. Secondly, it is not systematically used (if it is used at all) as a policy instrument in the pursuit of social, economic and cultural goals. Occupational training is the one sector which is functionally related to a national objective and often generously subsidised. Thirdly, little effort has been made to create a total learning environment in which, in addition to the formal education system, all the educative institutions in society - local communities, the home and family, the mass media and the place of work - are purposefully used to stimulate learning. Fourthly, those who left school at an early age or who fell short of the normal standard of achievement and who might consequently be regarded as most in need of furthering their education take least advantage of the available programmes. As a result, the recent quantitative expansion of adult education, despite some small success in reaching the disadvantaged, does not seem to have had any considerable impact on reducing the status and income gap between social groups.

Thus, although its value is no longer ignored, adult education remains structurally and financially weak. Few countries have yet formulated coherent development plans, such plans as exist are not widely known and there are scant signs that its current evolution is being integrated with social and economic planning.(1) In many countries numerous key issues remain unresolved such as the question of its relationship with the formal system. The only sector in which it is at all reasonably financed is that of occupational training. Above all, the existing programmes appeal most to adults who are already essentially privileged and even they are not necessarily receiving the kind of education which they really need. Those who most need education are not being assisted.

The necessary conclusion is that adult education must not only be declared to be important but given the tools to become operationally a major public undertaking. This in turn implies that the national provision of adult education should be comprehensive,

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1) Cf. "It is hard to think of any other educational service which has been given lower priority in national policy since 1945, except perhaps nursery schools. Of all the self-appointed Cinderellas in public education, perhaps adult education and nursery schools share the strongest claim to the title. But it is pointless to complain about this. It may be more relevant to ask why so much good adult education goes on, and why indeed, it has grown in volume so greatly since 1945, in spite of, as much as because of, any official encouragement or indeed official consciousness of its existence."

C.J. Chenevix Trench, "The Responsibility of Public Authorities" in F.W. Jessup ed., Lifelong Learning (Oxford, 1969), p.139.

flexible, rationally planned and administered, and adequately financed.(1)

The remainder of this paper will attempt to identify and discuss the issues and problems that face OECD Member countries in developing comprehensive public services of adult education. It will also attempt to analyse the essential components of such a service with particular reference to structural factors.

1) Cf. "Adult education has been far from forming an integrated whole until now. As we have seen, its organisation, on both the public and private levels, has been many-sided and lacking order until the present time; the currently emerging trend is to endeavour to bring this anarchic proliferation of the components of adult education under control, by making it more rationalised, more organised and institutionalised."

H. Janne, New Trends in Adult Education: Concepts and Recent Empirical Achievements (UNESCO, 1972), p.19.

III. DEFINITION, TASKS AND NEEDS

DEFINITION

One reason why increasing public recognition of the importance of adult education has not been matched by commensurate logistical resources is the continuing ambiguity about its functions.(1) Public officials enjoined to be more positive towards its development are seldom presented with concrete evidence of an explicit social demand or of its immediate relevance to their general policy and administrative concerns. This explains why they are led to view it - as do many educationists - in such stereotyped forms as literacy classes for the urban poor or needlework for housewives or rehabilitation training for the unemployed or liberal studies for the cultivated. A comprehensive working definition of adult education and a working taxonomy of learning needs are essential in order to give policy makers a clear framework of reference for assessing needs, allocating resources and monitoring progress.

The following definition focuses upon the learning process and has met with general approval in professional adult educational circles:

> Adult education is a process whereby persons who no longer attend school on a regular and full-time basis (unless full-time programmes are especially designed for adults) undertake sequential and organised activities with the conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding or skills, appreciation and attitudes; or for the purpose of identifying and solving personal or community problems.(2)

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1) Not to speak of the confusing terminology: "In the stage beyond the school, the expressions 'further', 'advanced', 'higher', 'adult', 'tertiary', and 'recurrent' education are common currency but by no means self-explanatory."

Dept. of Education and Science, England and Wales, Education: a Framework for Expansion (London, 1972), p.29.

In Japan the term "adult education" is very seldom used; instead the term "social education" applies to every type of learning activity outside formal education.

2) A.A. Liveright and N. Haygood, eds., The Exeter Papers (Boston, 1969), p.9.

This definition embodies two clarifying principles, namely, that an adult is construed as a person who is over the normal school-leaving age and no longer a full-time student [that is, no longer in formal (regular) education](1) and that it is not concerned with adventitious learning but with sequential learning experiences planned and monitored by an agent for a learner.(2)

The definition is weak in one significant respect. It plays down the value of two modes of learning - informal and independent - which the public authorities may wish to encourage through the appropriate instruments, especially through the use of broadcasting and print media, learning resource centres and the stimulation of both group and independent learning activities, and the development of home-based and other forms of learning.

Conscious of the danger of defining adult education in formal terms, a national committee appointed by the Government of Ireland declared that the 90 per cent of the population which did not participate in formally organised adult education programmes:

> ... do not belong to any special group or set of groups in our society: they are distributed all over it. Their educational needs as adults may range from the problem of coping with the housekeeping budget in the home of a senior company executive with a large family at college and university: from a wish for a skill to use for the better enjoyment of leisure to a need to increase their incomes through spare-time work. For various reasons, they do not seek adult education classes from bodies willing to provide them, or if such classes are available, they do not join them. Yet, these people need to be served as a minimum by being made aware of the services available to them, that the inadequacies in their lives are capable of solution.(3)

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1) Cf. "It is all the educational activity engaged in by people who have broken with full-time continuous education." (National Adult Education Survey: Interim Report (Dublin, 1970), p.10.)

2) For the purpose of collecting statistics the Working Party of the Education Committee on Educational Statistics and Indicators has adopted the definition used in the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED): "The term 'adult education' as used here is synonymous with 'out-of-school education' and means organised programmes of education provided for the benefit of and adapted to the needs of persons not in the regular school and university system and generally fifteen or older. The application of the above definition requires a clear statement of what is meant by 'education'. 'Education', for the purposes of this programme, is 'organised and sustained instruction designed to communicate a combination of knowledge, skills and understanding valuable for all the activities of life'."

UNESCO, Proposals for the Collection of Adult Education Statistics (Paris, 1974), p.5.

3) National Adult Education Survey, Ireland, op. cit., p.19.

For the purpose of surveying non-formal education programmes in developing countries the International Council for Educational Development (ICED) defined informal education, formal education and non-formal education as follows:

> Informal education ... is the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment - at home, at work, at play; from the example and attitudes of family and friends; from travel, reading newspapers and books; or by listening to the radio or viewing films or television. Generally, informal education is unorganised and often unsystematic; yet it accounts for the great bulk of any person's total lifetime learning - including that of even a highly "schooled" person.
>
> Formal education ... is, of course, the highly institutionalised, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured "education system", spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university.
>
> Non-formal education ... is any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined, non-formal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programmes, adult literacy programmes, occupational skill training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes, and various community programmes of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, co-operatives and the like.(1)

In effect, what ICED defines as non-formal education is nothing more or less than adult education as it is widely interpreted in OECD countries at the present time. The sole difference is that non-formal education applies as much to the intellectual and personality development of the young as it does to adults.

Besides informal learning it is essential not to omit from the concern of adult education the needs of independent learners. Conscious learning carried out by individuals independently of institutions already appears to be far more extensive than is commonly supposed:

> Highly deliberate learning is a pervasive phenomenon in human life. The 700 hours a year devoted to learning efforts are enormously significant for the adult himself, and for the organisation, family and society in which he works and lives.

1) P.H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-formal Education Can Help (Baltimore, 1974), p.8.

Although 700 hours constitutes only 10 per cent of an adult's waking time, surely this small percentage affects his life nearly as much as the other 90 per cent. It is during these 700 hours a year, when he sets out to improve his knowledge, skills, perceptions, attitudes, habitual reactions, insight and perspective, that the adult develops and changes. He resembles an organisation that maintains and increases its effectiveness by devoting 10 per cent of its resources to research and development.(1)

Recent studies in the United States indicate that:

- Almost every North American adult undertakes one or more activities in a given year than can be considered learning: these are undertakings which involve sequential approaches to information sought in order to achieve satisfaction of some knowledge or skill attainment goal.
- The major planner of adult learning activities, so considered, is the learner himself. Self-planned and initiated learning accounts for approximately two-thirds of the total learning efforts of adults.
- Most learning activities are initiated for practical reasons, to acquire information related to one's job, home, family or recreation.
- Learning for credit constitutes only a minor proportion of the educational behaviour of adults.
- Group-planned and/or undertaken learning activities only account for 10 to 20 per cent of the total adult learning effort.
- Some differences exist among populations in the amount of time spent in learning activities and in the number of learning projects undertaken: differences of this type also exist within the same population groups.(2)

It may be convenient for institutional purposes and for the purpose of collecting statistical information to exclude independent learning from the scope of adult education, but public authorities concerned to intensify the volume of active learning among the adult population will presumably wish to assist the independent learner by, for example, setting up learning resource centres.

If governments wish to ensure that it will become possible for an adult to learn whatever he needs to learn whenever he feels the need to learn, it would seem that they must adopt a broadly conceived definition of adult education which not only embodies formal and non-formal education but includes the possibility of reinforcing informal

1) A. Tough, The Adult's Learning Projects (Toronto, 1971), p.4.

2) Information provided by the United States Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare.

learning by means of the conscious use of the mass media, community organisations, art galleries, libraries, museums and all those institutions which are in a position to stimulate and assist the learning process:

> Continuing education, of which adult education is a part, is thus a series of learning experiences organised, structured or deliberately created by the learner or by others. It therefore covers a wide range of situations such as some forms of industrial and vocational training and retraining, the voluntary continuation of studies begun in initial education, activities undertaken for recreational purposes, the pursuit of knowledge and skills to further the aims of specific organisations, and individual study. The impact of newspapers and the broadcasting media or the activities of pressure groups and propaganda cannot be overlooked. The education service for adults must take account of other available educational opportunities and make provision which, taken together with these other opportunities, is comprehensive and relevant and is responsive to the needs not only of individuals but of the community and of society itself.(1)

In short, the education of adults has to be seen as a unity, of which vocational, non-vocational, general, formal, non-formal, informal, liberal and recreational education are constituent parts. The unhelpful and unwarranted dichotomy between general and vocational education has to be abandoned once for all.(2)

It is therefore recommended that, useful as the above definition may be for academic purposes, for policy-making purposes the definition given at the beginning of this paper is more apt:

> Adult education refers to any activity or programme deliberately designed to satisfy any learning need or interest that may be experienced at any stage in his or her life by a person who is over the statutory school-leaving age and whose principal

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1) Scottish Education Department, Adult Education: the Challenge of Change (1975), p.25.

2) Cf. "The terms of reference directed the committee to 'the provision of non-vocational education'. However, no sharp line could be drawn between vocational and non-vocational education, for what makes a course of study vocational or not is the students' motives for taking it rather than the nature of the course itself."

D.E.S., Adult Education: a Plan for Development (London, 1973), p.1.

activity is no longer in education. Its ambit thus spans non-vocational, vocational, general, formal, non-formal studies as well as education with a collective social purpose.

DIAGNOSIS OF EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

At the present time adult education programmes are generally designed for known target groups. Having been established to deal with a concrete demand, agencies have ascertained over the years which types of programme are successful according to the criterion of viable enrolment levels. The great majority of agencies do not accept responsibility for deciding whether their programmes are appropriate in relation to general social priorities or whether there are groups in the community who require help but who are not receiving it. At the same time, there are a few agencies, including a growing number of public authorities and universities, which conscientiously endeavour to diagnose the needs of the communities which they serve in terms of an a priori belief in community service. This explains, for example, why certain American, British, Canadian and French universities have recently sponsored community education projects aimed at alleviating the distress of the poor.

It is self-evident that an agency created and financed to serve a specific educational purpose must concentrate upon that purpose. Thus, a private university entirely dependent for survival upon its income from students' fees can no more be expected gratuitously to provide courses for illiterates than a trade union can be expected to provide courses for well-to-do businessmen. But if all agencies exclusively restrict their programmes to the specific purposes for which they were created then clearly there will be large areas of un-met needs. The only possible way to deal with these areas of need is for one agency or another to assume responsibility for taking an overview of the total education requirements of each community and each cluster of communities. It is hard in practice to envisage such an agency being other than the central or local government, although where the national tradition leans towards voluntary activity it may be considered preferable to delegate responsibility to a non-governmental or joint body.

Given that the relevant public authority is prepared to diagnose and satisfy the educational needs of adults, what should be the relevant guidelines? At least three factors have to be borne in mind. First, how wide is the spectrum of needs to be considered? Secondly, [illegible]are needs to be assessed? Thirdly, how are priorities to be determined?

LEARNING NEEDS

Learning needs are extremely difficult to define.(1) They vary from individual to individual and for each individual they vary as he passes through the several phases of the life-cycle. As a classification of needs the following taxonomy has proved effective for programme design purposes. All the categories, of course, relate to the overall purpose of self-fulfilment.

i) Remedial

For some this includes literacy classes; for others termination of the secondary cycle. It may be regarded as completing the schools' unfinished tasks (hence sometimes referred to as remedial). This basic education is the prerequisite for most other kinds of education and for active participation in social life.

ii) Vocational, Technical and Professional Competence

This may be designed to prepare a person for a new job to broaden his overall occupational competence or to update his knowledge and skills.

iii) Health, Welfare and Family Life

This includes guidance about physical and mental health, family problems, parenthood, social security, transport and safety, and consumer affairs.

iv) Civic, Political and Community Competence

This includes instruction and information about national and international problems, community organisation, group

1) Educational need is a normative concept and cannot be determined empirically. In practice, it is difficult to identify adult motivation for participating in adult education with absolute precision. Cf. "Adults do not have only one motive for joining a class. In talking to an interviewer they may be reluctant to single out one reason as more important than another; they may even wish to hide a motive of which they think an interviewer might disapprove. This would particularly apply to enquiries made by evening institutes among their own students, who might well believe that the institute was only interested in hearing educationally respectable reasons for joining a class. It is hardly surprising then that many of the local surveys prime reasons such as 'sheer love of the subject' tend to come out on top.

A further problem is that the students themselves may be unaware of some of their real motives. For instance, a man who comes to a class which he hopes will help him win promotion at work might also be interested in finding a captive audience for his political views. Though his apparent motive might be vocational, he might subconsciously be equally attracted by the opportunity to dominate and control other students. A woman who claims that her motive is to try to make friends may also unconsciously be searching for ideas and knowledge which will help her make sense of her world." (Jennifer Rogers, Adults Learning (London, 1971), p.11.)

relations and leadership functions. It also includes practical community development programmes and in general training for active participation in social and community development.

v) Self-fulfilment

This includes all aspects of liberal studies - music, fine arts, literature, arts and crafts and in general cultural subjects for creative and recreational purposes.(1)

A Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science in the United Kingdom to look into the present status of adult education and to make recommendations for its development, classified needs in a slightly different way:

Remedial education, or the completion of the schools' unfinished tasks. There will be many levels of this, from basic literacy upwards.

Balancing education:(2) that is, filling in the gaps left by the inevitable specialisation of schools and colleges.

Second-chance education, or the opportunity to acquire qualifications whose relevance to the individual has become clear in adult life. The term "second-chance education" has gained currency, but it is not to be interpreted strictly: the need may equally be for third, fourth or nth chances.

Updating, or the opportunity to keep abreast of developments in fields where knowledge is rapidly expanding.

Education about education, or the planned promotion of an educative environment, in and around the family home, at work and elsewhere, which will support and reinforce the work of the schools and colleges and not run counter to it. There can be no true system of education without this.

Counselling and the clarification of choices. There are two related needs here: for information about the range of educational opportunity provided and for help to an individual in assessing his own objectives and capacities in relation to those opportunities.(3)

The striking fact about this classification is that it assumes that "education about education" precedes the actual satisfaction of specific learning needs.

For planning or administrative purposes the public authorities often seem to identify four broad areas of need:

1) Adapted from Liveright and Haygood, op.cit., p.8.

2) More commonly termed "compensatory".

3) Adult Education - A Plan for Development (London, 1973), p.18.

i) Formal education (parallel to the regular system);
ii) Basic education (for example, in poverty action programmes);
iii) Liberal education (essentially leisure time courses for self-fulfilment);
iv) Vocational education (occupational training and retraining).

From the societal standpoint it is useful to look at adult education as designed to fulfil three general tasks (see Table II):

i) Improvement of individual competences;
ii) Self-fulfilment;
iii) Social and community education;

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITIES

In a country where adult education agencies seek to do no more than satisfy articulated demand it inevitably happens that one or more of the above categories of need is neglected and that the distinctive needs of whole sectors of the population are ignored, above all those of the disadvantaged. It is, in fact, evident that although collective goals can be deduced from theoretical reasoning by educationists and others, only the public authorities, whether it be at the national, regional or local level, are in a position to ensure that facilities for adult education are distributed equitably and in accordance with public requirements and the specific requirements of designated target groups. This entails the specification of short- and long-term priorities both as between youth and adult education and within the adult education sector itself, for in practice no country can hope to satisfy all adult learning needs out of public resources, simply because the cost would be exorbitant.

Selective Priorities

The issue thus arises: how are priorities to be selected? Two major criteria may be applied. First, the state may choose to give preference to those programmes that can demonstrably contribute to its short- and long-term social, economic, political and cultural objectives. This might entail, for example, funding vocational training centres as a means of increasing the stock of skilled manpower or funding the education of parents as a means of enhancing the educational prospects of their children. It is, of course, obvious that the criterion of relevance to national objectives can be applied only when, as stated above, the contribution of adult education to these objectives has been defined clearly beforehand. Secondly, the state may decide that persons considered disadvantaged should receive preference over all other prospective learners. In

Table II

ADULT LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES

I	II	III
to improve competences	to promote self-fulfilment and better interrelationships within society	to enhance social action
a) for direct application to work	a) for leisure and self-fulfilment	a) for social and community development
i) vocational	i) avocational programmes (hobbies, interests)	i) community service programme (youth corps, volunteer service, etc.)
ii) technical	ii) social activities	ii) community development programmes
iii) professional	iii) sports and games	iii) public affairs education
iv) extension services	iv) clubs (youth, men's, women's, cultural, etc.)	iv) civic education and political programmes
b) for indirect application to work	v) art galleries, museums, and library programmes	b) for individual and community politization
i) literacy and second language courses	b) for organisational development and self-improvement	i) civil rights programme
ii) basic education	i) group dynamics ('lab' education, encounter, organisational development, sensitivity)	ii) community organisation
iii) folk high schools and evening colleges	ii) achievement motivation courses	iii) unionisation
iv) "liberal education"	iii) human relations and leadership training	iv) "cultural literacy"
c) for general welfare and survival	iv) psychoanalysis	
i) health, welfare and family living	v) religious instruction and disciplines	
ii) environmental education		
iii) education for the elderly		

practice, in many OECD countries, assistance to the educationally underprivileged has emerged as a current major priority of social policy.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

In order that priority needs may be determined on a rational basis it is obviously necessary to ascertain precisely who are the people currently profiting from adult education and who are the people being neglected. A good deal of information is available about the socio-economic characteristics of participants in adult education thanks to the number of surveys undertaken during recent years at national, local and institutional levels (see, for example, Table III, which gives the characteristics of participants and non-participants in the United States). It is relatively easy and not particularly costly to cull the necessary information either by distributing questionnaires to samples of participants or by ensuring that enrolment forms contain a series of questions about occupation, marital status, number of children, level of previous educational attainment and so on. Moreover, administering participation surveys is a suitable exercise for post-graduate students to undertake.

All the evidence shows that those who attend courses are atypical of the adult population as a whole with regard to age, occupation, income and level of previous education.(1) The key determinant of participation is the level of previous education: the higher that level, the more likely there will be participation. In general, participants belong to the higher socio-economic groups, especially the professional classes. Since investigators have tended to avoid asking questions about income levels, all that can safely be said is that participants on the whole live in high-income residential areas.

1) A well-known survey carried out in 1963 in the United States revealed that three outstanding characteristics distinguished the samples from the population at large:

"a) Age. More than half the participants were under 40; four out of five were under 50.

b) Education. The average participant had received more formal education than the average adult in the total population. Thus, during the year of the survey only 4 per cent of the participants had no schooling as against 47 per cent who had received more than sixteen years of education.

c) Occupation and Income. Occupation and income were influential factors though not to the same degree as the amount of formal education. Apart from these three distinguishing characteristics, the characteristics of the samples conformed with those of the population at large. Men and women participated in more or less equal numbers; the religious sects were evenly represented; Negroes and Whites of similar educational background were equally likely to participate."

J.W.C. Johnstone and R.J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning (Washington, 1965), pp.6-8.

Table III

UNITED STATES: PARTICIPANTS IN ADULT EDUCATION, NON-PARTICIPANTS AND FULL-TIME STUDENTS BY RACE AND SELECTED POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS (1972)

	Total			White			Negro			Other		
	Participants	Non-Participants	Full-Time Students	Participants	Non-Participants	Full-Time Students	Participants	Non-Participants	Full-Time Students	Participants	Non-Participants	Full-Time Students
Total	15,734	111,829	11,602	14,518	99,004	10,117	1,011	11,448	1,293	205	1,077	
Occupation	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Professional/Technical	24.4	6.4	4.3	24.7	6.8	4.3	18.8	3.4	3.5	29.3	8.7	5
Engineer	2.6	0.7	-	2.3	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.1	-	6.1	0.6	
Medical/Health	3.7	1.1	0.5	3.7	1.1	0.5	1.9	0.7	0.5	5.6	2.9	0
Teachers/Ex Cl	9.0	1.4	0.8	9.0	1.5	0.8	9.9	1.2	0.4	5.4	1.1	0
Other Prof./Tech	9.5	3.3	3.0	9.6	3.5	3.0	6.4	1.4	2.6	11.2	4.1	4
Farmers, Farming Management	1.1	2.4	1.6	1.1	2.4	1.8	0.5	2.0	0.6	2.6	2.1	1
Managers and Administrative	8.5	5.9	0.8	8.8	6.1	0.8	3.6	1.8	0.4	8.7	6.3	
Sales	4.9	3.5	4.2	5.1	3.8	4.7	2.0	0.8	0.6	1.6	1.7	3
Clerical	13.1	9.8	8.3	13.2	10.0	8.6	12.7	7.7	6.3	9.3	10.4	9
Craftsmen	9.1	8.0	1.3	9.3	8.4	1.5	6.6	5.4	0.4	6.1	6.2	
Operatives Transport	6.2	10.5	4.3	6.0	10.2	4.6	8.3	13.7	2.4	8.0	8.6	
Service and Labour	9.0	10.3	15.5	8.3	8.7	16.2	19.7	22.9	10.2	9.7	15.0	14
Others	23.8	43.7	59.6	23.5	43.3	57.5	28.0	42.4	75.7	24.8	40.9	64
Veteran status - Male total	7,738	50,688	6,510	7,285	44,984	5,726	353	5,118	672	101	487	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Veteran	55.1	45.1	10.2	55.7	46.6	10.9	47.9	33.5	6.7	34.4	29.9	7
Vietnam Era	18.8	7.6	9.1	18.0	7.7	9.5	16.3	7.2	6.0	14.5	3.6	7
Korean War	11.2	8.0	0.2	11.2	8.3	0.3	12.3	5.9	-	8.8	6.8	
Other	25.1	29.5	0.8	25.5	30.7	0.9	19.1	20.4	0.7	11.1	19.5	
Non-Veteran	44.9	54.9	89.8	44.3	53.4	89.3	52.3	66.5	93.3	65.6	70.1	92
Children - Male Head - total	6,771	43,756	966	6,405	39,327	860	277	4,012	81	89	417	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
No children	36.7	52.5	65.2	36.7	53.2	65.9	41.7	47.0	53.8	19.3	41.2	76
1 child	21.5	16.0	16.9	21.4	16.1	16.7	20.6	15.5	20.2	33.8	19.4	21
2 children	21.7	15.1	13.5	21.8	15.1	12.9	20.7	13.8	20.0	22.9	19.6	10
3 children	11.8	8.7	3.4	11.8	8.7	3.2	8.4	8.9	6.0	21.6	10.2	
4 or more children	8.3	7.6	1.1	8.4	6.9	1.2	8.7	14.8	-	2.5	9.5	
Female Head - total	1,712	13,369	153	1,452	11,025	114	243	2,246	39	16	98	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
No children	65.4	74.6	62.6	69.9	80.2	73.7	38.8	48.0	28.9	65.5	44.1	
1 child	14.3	9.8	13.6	13.0	8.6	8.3	21.8	15.2	29.1	18.4	20.8	
2 children	10.3	7.1	10.5	8.9	5.7	6.8	18.1	14.0	21.4	16.1	5.8	
3 children	5.3	4.1	4.0	4.7	3.0	3.7	9.2	9.6	4.6	-	5.9	
4 or more children	4.7	4.3	9.3	3.5	2.4	7.4	12.0	13.1	14.9	-	23.4	
Wife of Head - total	4,251	39,958	371	4,874	36,723	328	302	2,340	31	74	394	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
No children	35.0	46.1	57.1	35.5	46.9	59.3	25.7	36.9	40.6	39.8	31.8	38
1 child	20.5	18.3	19.5	29.3	18.3	18.7	27.7	19.7	19.7	17.6	24.2	39
2 children	22.2	17.4	15.9	22.3	17.4	14.4	23.2	15.6	29.7	13.6	24.6	22
3 children	15.5	9.8	5.9	13.3	9.8	5.7	13.0	10.5	10.0	27.3	9.7	
4 or more children	8.7	8.4	1.6	8.7	7.6	1.8	10.4	18.5	-	1.8	9.7	

Statistics supplied by the Federal Department of Health Education and Welfare.

Except in vocational courses, women outnumber men, in some institutions by a ratio of two to one. Younger people outnumber older people, although there is a discernible current trend, notably in France, the United Kingdom and the United States, for educational agencies to address programmes specifically at adults over fifty.

Few attempts have been made to compare the socio-economic composition of participants from district to district(1) or from agency to agency or from programme to programme. However, such evidence as there is indicates that whereas the socio-economic profile of participants does not vary significantly from one district to another, it does vary according to the recruitment policies of agencies and the types of course on offer; thus manual workers attend courses in car maintenance in some strength but are conspicuous by their absence from almost all other courses.

Many adults may be non-participants not because of their socio-economic status but because of where they live. In France, for example, one report cites major disparities in vocational training provision between eastern and western areas (three-quarters of all institutions are east of an imaginary dividing line from Le Havre to Marseille), between Paris and the provinces (one-third of all institutions for vocational training are located in the Paris area), and between different regions (one quarter of all institutions are in the following three regions: Rhône-Alpes, Provence-Côte d'Azur and Lorraine).(2)

Adults who live in rural areas may also be involuntary non-participants simply because no educational facilities are accessible to them vis-à-vis adults living in urban areas. The following statement on the disparity of learning opportunities as between urban and rural areas applies to virtually all OECD countries:

> Adult education is primarily an urban phenomenon with the bulk of the institutions and agencies offering programmes, as well as the majority of participants, being found in the larger population centres. Moreover, the discrepancy between the frequency of participation in adult education by urban and rural residents is disproportionate to the percentage of the population living in such areas. This may contribute to widening the gap between the social and economic conditions of the two groups as adult education facilitates social change and development, and these processes are impeded where there is little or no provision for participation in educational activities.(3)

1) See Johnstone and Rivera's comparative analysis of two cities (op. cit. pp.311-344).

2) Institut National pour la Formation des Adultes, Etat de la Formation professionnelle continue en France (Paris, 1972).

3) G. Dickinson, "Rural Adult Education" in J.E. Thornton, ed., op. cit. p.19.

UNDERPRIVILEGED ADULTS

The critical conclusion to be drawn from an analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of participants in adult education programmes is that, despite the growing concern of governments to democratise post-compulsory education, the educational level of a large segment of the adult population continues to be low. In Germany, for example, official policy statements treat education as a powerful means of equalising life chances. The expansion of post-formal education was predicted on the removal of intra- as well as inter-generation disparities. The Labour Promotion Act of 1970 was designed in part to improve the skills of the less successful manual workers. Yet a recent enquiry(1) revealed that:

i) Males over 35 are gravely under-represented in training programmes;

ii) Males who did not complete their basic education are virtually unrepresented;

iii) Although almost two-thirds of the participants in training schemes are manual workers, unskilled and semi-skilled workers are clearly disadvantaged (see Table IV).

The number of adults who could profit from further education represents in most countries a sizeable percentage of the population. Thus, in the United States, in 1973, there were 57,667,171 persons 16 years of age and older who had not completed secondary (high) school. Reviewing State Demographic Data, the National Advisory Council on Adult Education pointed out that within the population, which in 1970 was 203,210,158, approximately 28 per cent of all persons 16 years and older had not graduated from a high school. Accordingly, a fundamental national priority was the expansion of basic education programmes for adults.(2)

CHARACTERISTICS OF UNDERPRIVILEGED ADULTS

Underprivileged adults may be classified in four groups according to the nature of their disability:(3)

i) economic deprivation (inherited or due to an absent, marginally producing or non-producing breadwinner);

1) Rudolph Hedwig, "Post-Formal Education in the Federal Republic of Germany" (OECD document, Paris, February 1974), p.9.

2) National Advisory Council on Adult Education, State Demographic Data: Adult Education (Washington, D.C., October 1973).

3) See E.W. Gordon and A.W. Doxey, Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged (N.Y. College Entrance Examination Board, 1966, Section 2), p.11.

ii) social deprivation (due to a variety of circumstances such as heavy domestic responsibilities);

iii) social alienation (due to racial or ethnic discrimination, as well as to age and sex discriminations);

iv) geographic isolation (due to transiency or residence in an area far from adequate educational and other facilities).

The above categories often overlap. In addition, there are adults who suffer from physiological and mental disabilities:

i) mental handicaps;

ii) mental illness;

iii) physical handicaps e.g. deafness, blindness or partial blindness, loss of limb, etc.

Table IV

MALE PARTICIPANTS IN POST-FORMAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACCORDING TO AGE, LEVEL OF SCHOOLING AND EMPLOYMENT POSITION

(percentages)

Characteristics of the participants	Representative sample		Labour Promotion Act
	Total	Participants 1965-1970	Participants end 1970
Age:			
Under 35	39.2	49.2	84.4
35 to 55	60.8	50.8	15.3
55 and over			
Level of Schooling:			
Primary school			
- without final	77.8	67.1	1.9
- with final			
Secondary school			
- medium level	11.2	20.3	14.9
- higher level	5.3	11.1	1.0
Employment position			
civil servants	7.8	16.7	31.6
clerks	23.5	42.9	
workers	51.4	27.7	64.5

Sources: Brinkmann, Ch. et al., op.cit., and Bundesanstalt für Arbeit: Forderung der Beruflichen Bildung, Nuremberg, 1971.

Target Groups

Specific groups which experience economic, social or geographic disadvantages include the following:

a) unemployed young adults, including premature school leavers;
b) certain rural populations;
c) migrant workers;
d) immigrants (foreign workers);
e) the aged;
f) urban poverty groups;
g) unskilled and semi-skilled workers;
h) unemployed and under-employed workers with little education;
i) unemployed and under-employed adult workers;
j) some categories of women e.g. housebound mothers;
k) those experiencing linguistic problems.

Most people in these groups see no purpose in participating in educational programmes as at present constituted.(1) In the last analysis the principal reason why the underprivileged do not participate in adult education is a lack of motivation, sometimes reinforced by a distaste for the very notion of "education" caused by unhappy recollections of their initial schooling. This distaste is often compounded by a fatalistic disbelief in the possibility of enhancing the quality of their lives or their job prospects by means of education. A preliminary enquiry into the reasons why many workers do not participate in adult education, carried out in five European countries, has revealed that:

i) Many workers' experience of full-time compulsory schooling has led them to believe that they are incapable of learning and made them unwilling to submit themselves again to the humiliation of being unsuccessful learners.

1) Cf. "There are very few continuing learners in our lower classes. Part of this tendency can be explained by the fact that learning and education are perceived and evaluated in radically different ways by persons on different rungs of the social ladder. Lower-class adults not only value high educational attainment less, but they assess the worth of education strictly in terms of the tangible advantages which can be gained from having it. They see little value in obtaining knowledge for its own sake. Our findings of the existence of distinct middle-class and lower-class orientations to education are hardly revolutionary, of course, but they have extremely important implications for adult education today. One consequence of the fact that the lower-class adult does not conceive of education in terms of personal growth or self-realisation, for example, is that he is much less ready to turn to continuing education for recreational learning than for vocational learning. Lower-class adults realise fully that education can lead to employment opportunities and job security but education is in no sense defined as pleasurable. Indeed, for the typical lower-class adult, the concepts of 'learning' and 'spare-time enjoyment' convey quite opposite meanings."

Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., p.21.

ii) Some who had a fairly successful school record in terms of academic achievement found the school situation unsympathetic - either the discipline, the teacher-taught relationship, the content of studies, or the methods employed. They have no wish to continue education, which they expect to be a repetition of their school experience.

iii) The social circle in which many workers live (family, neighbours, friends, workmates) discourages attempts to further their education. To continue systematic study is to set oneself up as different from one's fellows and thus to expose oneself to envy and ridicule.

iv) Many workers are resigned to or contented with their way of life. They do not wish to change in themselves. Education has therefore nothing to offer them.

v) Some workers are worn out or stupefied by their jobs (for example, repetitive work on the production line in the automobile industry). They are no longer capable of making a systematic effort to learn.

vi) Inconvenient working hours, as in shift work, prevent some from enrolling in courses.

vii) There is insufficient encouragement for working people to pursue systematic learning. Neither employers nor trade unions, which appear to be the most potent influences with the subjects interviewed, actively promote education, even vocational training, for blue- or white-collar workers below supervisory grades, or, in trade unions, shop-steward level.(1)

If participation in adult education is to appeal to all sectors of the community and if the present grossly uneven distribution of knowledge is to be redressed, it is evident that the top priority in a policy for adult education is to tackle the needs of the educationally underprivileged.

REACHABILITY OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

To attract all underprivileged adults into education programmes would be a herculean task, at least in the short term. It is convenient, therefore, to draw a line between those who might participate

1) Adapted from evidence supplied by Dr. C.T. Titmus at an OECD meeting of experts.

in favourable circumstances and those who are totally uninterested.(1) "Reachable" non-participants may be divided into four groups:

a) those who would like to participate but lack the requisite financial or other means (including transport);(2)

b) those who are not individually conscious of wishing to participate but would participate as members of a community, for example, in a residents' association or amenity group;

c) those who would like to participate but lack the appropriate information about what is available and how to apply for admission;

d) those who are afraid of the possible reactions of their employers and the implications for their job security.

A survey conducted in Frederiksborg, Denmark, provided this interesting information about reachable non-participants:

PERSONS 15-60 YEARS OF AGE DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION 1970

(Percentage)

	Total * Country	Frederiksborg AMT	
		Total Population	Reachable Non-Participants **
Self-employed	10	10	3
Salary employees/ public servants	30	25	28
Skilled workers	9	10	23
Unskilled workers	16	18	12
Unemployed & domestic workers	35	37	34
Total	100	100	100

* Source: Statistical News, No. 28, 1971.

** Source: Frederiksborg Survey 1971, Lars Th. Bjørn.

1) Cf. "Attitudes to education shade off gradually from enthusiasm at one end of the scale to rejection at the other. For practical purposes, one could draw a line across this distribution at the point where indifference changes to a mild curiosity to know more about the world around one. Below this threshold were nearly 45 per cent of the sample who could be said to be resistant to new ideas and higher values. Such people tend to avoid unaccustomed impressions, or can't be bothered to consider them. Such people read little and what they do read tends to be the lighter items in the newspapers; they do not look at or listen to the more serious broadcast programmes, or have much to do with what we might describe as cultural activities of any sort ... but looking at the brighter side of the picture, there is a good half of the population who are curious about the world and their neighbours, or are anxious to learn more about them, and some - a minority - have a conscious love of learning." (J. Trenaman, op. cit., p.187.)

2) In Western Germany a recent law stipulates that every adult should be able to attend an educational establishment within half an hour's reach of his home.

A crying need for adult education among skilled workers (mainly for mathematics, physics and chemistry) was noticed.(1)

Although it would be unwise to postulate that participation in adult education automatically leads to higher income and status or, vice versa, that a rise in income and status automatically leads to greater concern for education, nevertheless the available data (see Table V) show that level of education is a significant indicator of probable level of income as well as of type of occupation. While statistical enquiries have yet to be devised to measure empirically the impact of adult education on improving level of income or occupational efficiency, various adult education programmes such as "functional literacy" and manpower development programmes operate on the hypothesis that the impact is significant.(2) Some countries

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1) Lars Th. Bjørn, "Study of Non-participants in Adult Education in Denmark", OECD, Roneoed document, 1974.

2) A U.S. Office of Education funded research project has completed a four-year investigation of adult functional competences which are important to coping and surviving in the society of the seventies. In the process, the Adult Performance Level (APL) Study has redefined the concept of functional literacy and has produced new estimates of the rate of illiteracy for the United States.
According to the APL concept, functional literacy or competence is not simply the ability to read or write at some arbitrarily chosen low-grade level. APL research defines functional literacy as the ability of an adult to apply skills to several major knowledge areas which are important to adult success. The skills which have been identified as important to functional literacy are the communication skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening), computation, problem solving and interpersonal relations. These skills are applied in everyday life situations, which are categorised into broad "general knowledge areas" called occupational knowledge, consumer economics, health, community resources, and government and law.
Using this two-dimensional concept, the project has defined 65 requirements for functional literacy. As a means of assessing how well American adults meet these requirements, five national surveys of American adults have been conducted. Using simulations of requirements keyed to the APL definition of literacy (such as reading job notices, making change, shopping, locating needed services, or understanding insurance), the APL project has developed a general index of literacy which classifies adults into one of three categories: APL 1 - those adults who function only with difficulty because of their unsatisfactory mastery of the requirements for functional literacy; APL 2 - those adults who are functional, but not proficient; and APL 3 - those adults who are proficient.
These surveys indicate that almost one of five adults is in the APL 1 or non-functional category. The following table summarises the proportion of adults in each functional literacy category (by percentages).

have, of course, recognised this fact by providing resources for pilot programmes in deprived areas (for example, community development projects in the United Kingdom) or for a specific group (for example, factory workers in Sweden).

Footnote (2) continued from previous page.

Areas	APL Functional Literacy Levels		
	1	2	3
Occupational Knowledge	19.1	31.9	49.0
Consumer Economics	29.4	33.0	37.6
Government and Law	25.8	26.2	48.0
Health	21.3	30.3	48.3
Community Resources	22.6	26.0	51.4
Skills			
Reading	21.7	32.2	46.1
Problem Solving	28.0	25.4	48.5
Computation	32.9	26.3	40.8
Writing	16.4	25.5	58.1
Overall Competency Levels	19.7	33.9	46.3

Information supplied by the Office of Education, Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

IV. STRUCTURES

The concept of structures is here intended to apply to the whole administrative and financial framework within which a comprehensive adult education service would operate. It includes the planning, administrative and co-ordinating mechanisms to be set up at the national and local government level as well as the relationships between public and private agencies and the organisation of supporting services. There is, of course, no ideal system of structures which might be introduced into all countries. Nevertheless, certain structural factors universally require consideration and these will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

PUBLIC OR PLURALIST PROVISION

At the present time it is inaccurate to refer to "systems of adult education". In all Member countries the current forms of adult education originally emerged, as pointed out above, in response to spontaneous private demand or because the public authorities identified a particular social or economic need, such as improvements in farming methods, which might be satisfied through educational programmes. The result of the sporadic growth of adult education institutions is that even within a single country - or for that matter within a single community - there is no visible unity and either no arrangements or only informal arrangements for co-ordinated effort. Duplication of programmes is quite common. In all OECD Member countries a great part of the present provision of adult education is undertaken not directly by the public authorities but by independent or quasi-independent agencies. A host of statutory and voluntary agencies performs a variety of functions. Many organisations, for example, trade unions and the churches, include the education of their members as a secondary or marginal aim (see Table V). Moreover, a few countries uphold the principle that, as far as possible, adult education must be sustained by voluntary effort since its voluntary nature and its diversity are its strength. For this reason a number of governments finance the programmes of voluntary agencies in whole or in part. All countries however, are concerned with the need to ensure both the maximum conservation of resources and the improvement

of co-operation between the various services providing adult education. At the same time, governments in nearly all countries now acknowledge that adult education is socially, culturally and economically so important that they must be responsible for some direct provision and that positive steps should be taken to rationalise the existing facilities. This does not mean that the prevailing pluralism is to be condemned but that the overall provision should be planned rationally.

Given the current pluralist division of provision the question then arises: how extensive should the direct public commitment be? As regards courses parallel to or replicating the regular system - secondary school completion and university level - there can presumably be no argument that the regular system should satisfy the overt demand. Whether, in addition, it should seek to create demand, will depend upon the willingness of the public authorities to find extra financial resources, which may necessitate a reallocation of existing educational budgets. Besides courses parallel to the regular system, the public authorities will be obliged as a rule to provide training courses for the unemployed. But which agencies should serve the rest of the spectrum of needs? Here the answer will ultimately be determined by national custom regarding the role of non-governmental agencies, but one thing is clear: the public authorities are best placed to identify the totality of un-met needs - the state, in fact, has a clear responsibility for enabling the identification of these needs - and they alone have the power to see to it that they are met within a clear framework of priorities regarding both short-term and long-term needs. It is not axiomatic that they should satisfy un-met needs through a public agency, say, the school system, since they can opt to delegate the task to a non-governmental agency, which, of course, raises the problems of co-ordination discussed below.

No country is obliged to furnish a complete service under its own express control.(1) It can choose to lighten the burden by

1) Indeed, it is felt in some countries that the state should carefully avoid any hint of paternalism in its policies towards adult education:

> "If it is accepted that the education of adults has the order of importance that has been asserted, who is responsible for it? The immediate answer must be that every adult is responsible for his or her own education. It is not quite unthinkable that some adult education might be made compulsory by the state - learning how to draw a bow or how to wear a gas mask, perhaps - but the examples are sufficiently far-fetched to prove the rule that in a country which professes a liberal democratic way of life, adult education is, and must be, a voluntarily undertaken activity belonging to that segment of life in which a man is autonomous."

F. Jessup, "The Idea of Lifelong Learning" in F. Jessup, ed., Lifelong Learning (Oxford, 1969), p.26.

Table V

TAXONOMY OF ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES

1. Government or local government institutions existing primarily or exclusively for an educational purpose (e.g. residential colleges, adult education centres).
2. Government or local government institutions including an educational aim in their programmes (e.g. ministries of health and agriculture, local social welfare services).
3. Independent institutions existing primarily or exclusively for an educational purpose and also in receipt of financial support from public funds (universities through extension or adult education department).
4. Independent institutions including an educational purpose among their aims and in receipt of financial support from public funds.
5. Independent institutions existing primarily or exclusively for an educational purpose and not in receipt of financial support from public funds (e.g. commercial colleges and correspondence schools).
6. Wholly independent institutions including an educational purpose among their aims (e.g. Y.M.C.As).
7. Wholly independent institutions including a specific educational purpose among their aims or using education as one of the means of achieving their aims (e.g. church organisations, trade unions).
8. Auxiliaries of education (e.g. museums and libraries).
9. The mass media, insofar as they consciously fulfil an educational function.
10. Voluntary local associations, including an educational aim among their activities (e.g. clubs, hobby societies).

establishing a working partnership with non-governmental agencies, as in the United Kingdom, or to entrust direct provision very largely to such agencies, as in the Scandinavian countries, or to leave the field very largely open to private self-supporting agencies, as in Switzerland and the United States. The vital desideratum is that the public authorities should establish regulatory machinery for ensuring that the provision is adequate and that neither particular groups of people nor particular geographical areas are victims of discrimination:

> They are the main providers of education, they alone of the agencies involved deploy the wealth and variety of resources necessary for large-scale development, and they are uniquely situated to secure the continuity of educational opportunity which the future demands. Statutory responsibility for adult education provision should continue to be vested solely in the education authorities.(1)

1) Scottish Education Department, op. cit., p.56.

In the final resort, it is, of course, not at the national but at the local level that operational plans have to be drawn up and resources brought to bear where they will have the greatest impact. For this reason it may be desirable to follow the example of such countries as Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom where the local government authorities are required to guarantee a minimal level of provision. But the central and local authorities can alone redress serious imbalances between localities and prescribe normative standards. Thus, in Japan,

> "The Ministry of Education provides the standards by which the social education organisations qualify to receive grants-in-aid from the central and local governments under Article 13 of the Social Education Law."(1)

Even if a country should decide that all adults should have the right of access to educational opportunities neither existing nor future public resources could possibly meet all demands. This implies that the state must determine short- and long-term priorities. How are these priorities to be selected? There are at least two possible criteria. First, the state might choose to give support exclusively to those aspects of adult education directly related to its overall social, cultural and economic policies. For example, it might decide to support parent education as a means of improving the quality of early childhood education. Secondly, the state might decide not to subsidise any adult to participate in any type of programme but rather to give priority to only certain categories of adults to attend certain categories of programmes. For example, the state might choose to support literacy classes but not university level classes.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE MASS MEDIA

Whether or not public authorities delegate the provision of many types of programme to non-governmental agencies, only they can decide whether to make available for adult education purposes the institutions under their direct control and whether both radio and television should be mandated to perform educational and educative functions. For such purposes public institutions are assumed to include not only educational establishments but also libraries, museums, art galleries and any buildings in which it is convenient to organise educational activities. The educational role of broadcasting deserves special attention: radio and television can afford many people their main or only opportunity for deepening their

1) K. Komada, "The Organisations of Social Education in Japan" in Convergence, vol. V, no. 4, 1972, p.36.

knowledge and understanding of contemporary trends and problems; they also make a vital contribution to the multi-media instructional systems which are a prerequisite of mass adult education.

ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK

No universal formula for the administrative and financial control of adult education can be advanced. Each country has to choose a unique formula which reflects existing structures, traditions and national priorities. The one essential point is that, in order to be effective, control must formally be vested in one authority or, if necessary, more than one authority and that the locus of control should be acknowledged by all concerned. In allocating this responsibility, two decisions have to be made. The first is where to locate responsibility within the framework of government. The second decision concerns the kind of co-ordinating mechanism which is to be created for harmonizing the activities of the multiplicity of public and private agencies. It may be convenient, of course, to assign both functions to the same authority.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The decision about where to locate control within the governmental framework is plainly affected by the prevailing connection between adult education and the formal system. In most countries this connection is administratively tenuous in practice,(1) although it is rare for a ministry of education not to have at least some responsibility towards adult education. Four approaches can be identified:

i) to regard adult education services as distinct from the general education service and to administer them quite separately;
ii) to distinguish between formal and non-formal programmes, administratively treating the first as the responsibility of the ministry of education but not the second;
iii) to embody a comprehensive adult education service (that is, not distinguishing formal from non-formal) in the general education service but in practice to administer and finance it quite separately;
iv) effectively to integrate a comprehensive adult education service with the general service for administrative and financial purposes.

1) There are exceptions. In Norway, adult education is treated as an equal partner of the other sectors of the educational system. In 1970, the Federal Assembly in Yugoslavia approved a resolution that regular and adult education should be fully integrated.

Many professional adult educators complain that ministries of education, as well as educational administrators and school and university teachers, are either hostile or indifferent to adult education; if they approve of its aims at all it is only insofar as they correspond with those of the formal system. Since adult education will always receive short shrift from the general education establishment it should therefore be planned, administered and financed independently. This is, of course, a sectarian approach which should no longer apply when clear priorities for adult education have been determined as part of overall public policy. It is true that the creation of an independent adult education service would highlight its distinctive functions, preserve it from a Cinderella status and free it from the possible domination of orthodox ideas. Nevertheless, for all practical purposes absolute separation of adult education from the formal sector can normally be ruled out simply because few, if any, countries can afford to maintain a parallel system which uses independent plant, employs its own staff, designs its own curricula and administers its own examinations. Moreover, the existence of an organic relationship between the two sectors will obviously help to facilitate progress towards a recurrent education system. Thus, it may be desirable to introduce integrated teacher-training programmes, integrated curriculum design services, physical facilities designed for the use of entire communities, common information and counselling services and so on. Nor would it seem wise, even from a partisan standpoint, to rule out the possibility of adult education having a greater and beneficial effect on the formal sector. At a time when formal educational systems are undergoing striking changes, adult education, as a sector in which alternatives to child-based education have already been tried and tested, has a good deal of relevant experience to offer. Circumstances differ from country to country but the recurrent education approach would seem to clinch the argument in favour of integrating adult education with the regular system.

A difficulty does arise, however, over the relationship between the general education service and the wide range of adult education activities unconcerned with academic courses. Certain types of programme do not self-evidently belong to the province of the general education service, notably a large proportion of occupational training, which is more often the concern of a ministry of labour rather than a ministry of education. Moreover, it may be argued that the main business of the general service is to provide formal education and that it lies outside its competence to provide such other forms of education as the development of group skills through the medium of community development projects. In practice, the assumption is made in some countries that the regular service should provide a

flexible and multifarious service, especially through such polyvalent institutions as community schools and colleges. Nevertheless, the weight of tradition in most countries points to the conclusion that the regular system will concentrate upon formal or academic education for adults leaving most of the sphere of occupational training to specialist training centres and other forms of provision to non-governmental agencies.

LOCUS OF CONTROL

When public responsibility for guaranteeing the provision of a full-scale service is assigned to the regular education system, then the ministry of education or the central educational administration automatically assumes the responsibility for control and co-ordination by taking the initiative in arranging consultations with and among other government departments directly or indirectly involved in the education of adults - Agriculture, Defence,(1) Health, Labour and so on. It also creates a mechanism for assuring consultation and co-ordination among public and non-governmental agencies. This mechanism may take the form of a statutory or non-statutory board or a council endowed with advisory or executive powers or both.

Co-ordination cannot be secured solely through a national body. Co-ordinating mechanisms are no less essential at the regional and local levels where the views of consumers can readily be sought and practical schemes of co-operation can be implemented.

In the event that the central educational administration is not required to discharge full responsibility for adult education, the only way of ensuring that a broad spectrum of learning needs is met and that duplication of programmes is avoided is to set up a statutory board or council comprising representatives of government departments, major adult education agencies, employers, trade unions, and such public services as libraries and broadcasting. At the regional and local levels it is equally important to establish similar co-ordinating boards or councils.

CO-ORDINATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

In most communities there are at present on the one hand agencies offering similar programmes and on the other hand large gaps in the general provision. In Denmark, where adult education has

1) Military services in most countries run extensive educational programmes covering not only operational training needs but general education. One may note, for example, the dynamic role played by the Australian Army Educational Service during the Second World War and ever since.

been firmly established since the first half of the nineteenth century and where it enjoys high prestige, it has been pointed out that, partly as a result of the traditional dichotomy between general and vocational education there are:

> almost impossible organisational, administrative, legislative and financial conditions surrounding adult education's present position.
>
> It is true that the greater part of adult education supported or administered by the public sector comés under the Ministry of Education. However, a number of other ministries are also involved to a great extent: the Ministry for Social Services, the Ministry for Defence and the Ministry of Labour are also responsible for a number of activities. A recently published survey showed that no fewer than 38 central organs were involved with adult education either administratively or in some other decisive way - and that no fewer than 100 different types of educational establishment participated in adult education activities.(1) .

Measures to bring about more effective co-ordination are now on the increase, ipspired sometimes by government, sometimes by non-governmental agencies and sometimes by adult education associations.

From the standpoint of the learner, the fragmentation of adult education creates a situation where he cannot find a continuum of learning programmes in which one endeavour leads naturally and smoothly to another. Instead, he is forced to integrate his learning programme himself and often this is impossible since there are large gaps between levels of instruction. Thus, the newly literate finds that the available educational opportunities are designed for adults with more instruction than he has yet received. Another manifestation of this lack of logical progression is the absence of certificates and degrees designed for adults which, while equivalent in value to those given in school, correspond to an adult curriculum and present the adult with an ordered sequence of learning steps which provide both a motivation and a guide in planning further progress. In certain countries reforms have been introduced to remedy this lack. For instance, in Western Germany adults may prepare for a whole range of certificates tailored to actual needs and in the United States several universities have designed degree courses expressly for adults.

Wherever adult education services at the community level are extensive it is usually because the local government authorities not only provide educational programmes on their own account but collaborate closely with and, where appropriate, give financial and other

1) Per Himmelstrup, "Adult Education in Denmark" in Scandinavian Public Libraries Quarterly (April, 1973), p.41.

support to other providing bodies. To this end it is the practice to create effective co-ordinating bodies. In several countries there are now regional or local adult education advisory or development councils, containing representatives concerned directly and indirectly with the education of adults. For example, in each "nome" (local district) in Greece there is an Adult Education Nomarchy Committee.

The public authorities need not necessarily play a managerial role in or even finance the activities of co-ordinating bodies. Indeed, in communities where the voluntary tradition is especially strong they tend to be scrupulous about respecting the independence of other providing agencies. At the same time, there are circumstances in which the public authorities may have to impose their will. For example, when a co-ordinating body starts to become a conservative rather than a creative influence by seeking to preserve spheres of influence rather than encourage innovation and experiment, the public authority must clearly insist upon a return to a dynamic outlook.

In many OECD countries there are national associations of adult education which play an important co-ordinating role. These include Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada (English and French speaking), Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, the Netherlands and Scotland. Sweden contains no fewer than twelve national associations. There is an adult education association in each of the Yugoslav Republics. In some countries close bilateral links exist between adult education and other agencies; for example, in Western Germany the German Folk High School Association and the trade unions collaborate formally through an organisation known as "Work and Life".

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

It is frequently claimed by its spokesmen that the precarious position of adult education is mainly due to the fact that, unlike formal education, it is seldom legally sanctioned by statute either in terms of overall provision or with regard to its organisation. References to adult education occasionally appear in general educational legislation, but in only a few countries is it enshrined as a right. Certain sectors have received legal sanction, however, as, for example, in those countries which have incorporated into formal legislation the I.L.O. convention on paid educational leave.

Some examples of the laws or regulations to have been enacted or being considered are as follows:

> The law in Sweden provides that any group of at least five adults shall be provided with the facilities to study the

subject of its choice. In Denmark the Act on Leisure Time Instruction (passed on 6th June, 1968), recognised a broad spectrum of adult education activities as warranting state support.

The opening paragraph of a draft law in Norway states that:

> Adult education forms part of an educational system which aims at adapting conditions so as to make it possible for everyone, both as an individual and as a member of the community at large, to continue his personal development throughout his life by means of education at work and/or in his leisure time. Adult education is education, neither regulated by statute nor otherwise formally instituted as initial schooling, arranged for adults.

The following paragraph places responsibility for adult education on the public authorities responsible for the corresponding level in the regular system, viz., the state for higher education, the county school authorities for secondary education and the local authorities for compulsory education. It is further recommended that these various authorities should make provision for adult education either through institutions under their own control or by grants to voluntary agencies. In a number of the Länder in the Federal German Republic, including Bavaria, Lower Saxony and Northrhine Westphalia, impending legislation will guarantee full governmental support for adult education. In Baden-Würtemborg the GesamtPlan für ein Kooperatives System der Erwachsenenbildung treats adult education as a major sector in the general education system. In the United States more than twenty pieces of legislation in support of adult education were passed between 1960 and 1970. The Higher Education Act of 1965 encouraged post-secondary institutions to form partnerships with their local communities with a view to organising programmes on housing, land use, recreation and adult education. In Austria, special types of school for adults are covered by school legislation. In Austria also, the General University Act of 1966 requires universities to provide for the continuing education of their alumni by helping them keep up to date with the expansion of knowledge. In Japan,

> ... both the Minister of Education and the Board of Education of the local public bodies must assist the social education associations with professional technical advice or guidance and help to secure any goods and materials necessary for the undertakings of social education.(1)

1) K. Komada, op. cit., p.36.

Certain laws or regulations require that financial assistance be given to designated categories of individuals or to such disadvantaged groups as ethnic minorities. But of all the legislation applying to the educational needs of adults the most far-reaching is concerned with the right to occupational training and above all the right to paid educational leave.

Laws relating to paid study leave exist in Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Yugoslavia. The Federal Republic of Germany is prepared under the terms of the "Federal Law to Promote Employment" to offer generous compensation for expenses and loss of pay or income and to ensure family maintenance study leave. Compensation amounted to DM.4.6 million in 1962 but had risen to DM.1,000 million by 1971. In France, in the year following the enactment of the laws on occupational training (1971) 85 per cent of the employers concerned applied the law; 850,000 employees benefited from an average period of 60 hours' training and the total expenditure represented 18 per cent of the national education budget. Moreover, the law recognises the individual's right to undertake full-time training for his own benefit rather than that of his employer.(1)

If adult education outside the occupational training sector is to flourish, it would seem essential that it be similarly sustained by formal legislation. The following observation about France applies to most countries:

> Adult education in France has recently witnessed rapid but often disorderly growth. This sector of activity responds to a lively public interest but is not yet much understood by the public authorities.
>
> It would appear to be necessary to pass legislation in favour of educational activities not inspired by vocational concerns ...(2)

Legislation establishing that adult education, either interpreted comprehensively or with regard to only one or a few sectors, is a public responsibility does not necessarily lead to instant improvements but it does create a climate of opinion conducive to development. One clear example of this is legislation or regulations in a number of Member countries requiring that financial assistance be given to designated categories of individuals or to such disadvantaged groups as ethnic minorities. At a more operational level, such specific acts of legislation as the following have already proved their value:

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1) "Educational Leave: Trends and Issues", OECD roneoed document, 1974.

2) J. Rovan, "Adult Education in France", OECD roneoed doc. 1974, p.18.

i) that any group of at least five adults shall be provided with the facilities to study the subject of its choice;

ii) that all public educational institutions, including libraries and museums, should be freely open for adult education purposes when not serving their primary function;

iii) that radio and television companies should allocate a prescribed proportion of air time to educational programmes for adults.

It is to be noted that legislation not explicitly concerned with adult education may nevertheless have decisive effects on its scope and effectiveness.

V. RELATIONSHIPS

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE REGULAR SYSTEM

In most countries there is very little interaction between adult education and the regular system. Many public school systems and many post-secondary institutions permit adults to follow regular academic courses, usually on a part-time basis, with a view to earning the appropriate certificate, diploma or degree. But this is simply a case of adults attending courses designed not expressly for them, whether with regard to the curriculum or the methods of instruction, but for children and young people. Beyond such parallel courses adults can also often attend "leisure-time" courses held in institutions controlled by the regular system. These courses, however, are commonly treated as an activity distinct from and only incidental to the primary function of the institution. If there is to be a meaningful interaction between adult education and the regular system, it is obvious that practical measures must be taken to forge realistic links between the two. The most encouraging trend is that to establish all-age institutions or, at least, all-age institutions beyond compulsory schooling.

In several countries, for example, the United States and the United Kingdom, secondary schools have been transformed into "community" schools designed to offer an educational service to all age groups throughout a whole neighbourhood. Experience shows that the transformation is not too difficult to achieve on paper but far from easy to achieve as a reality. Members of the administrative and teaching staff of community schools appointed to cater for the needs of adults in the community complain that they are treated as second-class citizens. Headmasters and teachers do not welcome changes that do not fit in with their preconceptions about the aims and organisation of schools. Those who spend some of their time teaching the young during the daytime and the rest of the time organising "adult" programmes claim that they run up against numerous institutional obstacles and that, ironically, the very adults whom they want to serve insist upon viewing them primarily as <u>school</u> teachers who have precious little to offer mature and experienced people. As a result, some adult educators who used to agitate in favour of

using the schools as a base from and in which to operate are now arguing, in the light of their experience with community schools, in favour of a return to the division of labour. In the United States it is now widespread public policy to implement the delivery of community education by using all available public buildings and facilities.

It does not follow that because some evidence suggests that adult programmes are adversely influenced by regular education interaction is therefore to be avoided. Such a reverse influence only serves to show that in certain countries adult education is made to act as a surrogate for the formal system. Instead of pursuing social, economic and cultural goals, it serves as an instrument for remedying the deficiences of the school system by picking up drop-outs and early school-leavers and giving them a chance to finish the secondary cycle.

At its creative best adult education is far more than a surrogate for the regular system. Whereas regular schools still often emphasize institutional discipline, adult education promotes social integration within defined groups voluntarily assembled together. Instead of fostering general understanding and indeterminate skills, it fosters specific understanding and specific skills. Its goal is usually single rather than multipurpose. It does not cater for uniform age groups but for a wide age-span. In general, it uses group techniques and encourages a high degree of individualised learning. Finally, it starts from the premise that only adults can change social reality here and now.

Despite the current lack of interaction between adult and regular education, or the regressive effects of interaction, there are grounds for optimism about the future. At the national level some positive measures towards integration have been taken. In the United States, in 1970, a pilot programme on the interaction of adult and regular education was arranged at the Conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Some school districts have recently authorised high school students to take courses in afternoon and evening adult education programmes.

At the same time, the rationale for a close integration between adult and regular education clearly requires to be strengthened before further formal arrangements are introduced. In the absence of a stronger rationale there is a danger that schemes for interaction will fail and that the concept of interaction will thereby be discredited.

ADULT EDUCATION AND RECURRENT EDUCATION

A strategy for recurrent education predicates that adult education will not only be integrated with the regular system but with education for employment, for its essential characteristic is that education should be distributed over the total life span of an individual in a recurring way and in alternation with other activities, principally with work but also with leisure and retirement. The definition of recurrent education contains two essential principles:

i) It offers an alternative educational strategy to the conventional one by which all formal and full-time education is concentrated in youth; i.e. between the age of five, six or seven and the entry into active life at fifteen or later, and it proposes to spread post-compulsory education over the full life span of the individual. Thus it accepts the principle of lifelong learning.

ii) It proposes a framework within which lifelong learning will be organised by means of alternation and effective interaction between structured learning situations and work and leisure.

Whatever the frequency or intensity of this alternation, the essential requirement is that there shall be opportunities for organised learning throughout each person's lifetime. Reciprocal fertilization and enrichment should take place between the structured learning experience acquired in the educational parts of the alternating patterns and the unstructured learning experiences acquired in other types of social activity.

Advocates of recurrent education usually refer to the valuable achievements of adult education. They deny the possibility, however, of adult education alone responding to the formal and occupational educational needs of adults since it cannot be expected to remedy the failure of the formal system to provide equality of opportunity:

> This is not to deny that many adults have increased their educational level and career chances by following adult courses, but rather to argue that adult education as it now stands is not an appropriate second-chance alternative to youth eduoation.(1)

Where does adult education stand in relation to the potential development of recurrent education?

One of the principal aims of recurrent education is to guarantee equality of opportunity. Nevertheless, the danger has to be guarded against that the adoption of a recurrent education system will

1) OECD, Recurrent Education: a Strategy for Lifelong Learning (Paris, 1973), p.3.

threaten the viability of traditional and emerging forms of adult education. This may happen if too many resources are allocated to academic education and occupational training to the detriment of other types of programme, especially to non-formal educational activities. As pointed out above, one of the current preoccupations of public authorities is how to satisfy the needs of the underprivileged adults described on page 29. In the absence of programmes purposefully designed for them these adults will continue to suffer from neglect. The hope of helping them lies in appealing to those personal and family needs which they recognise as urgent and therefore in using non-formal methods. Any system that accords priority to academic courses and the pursuit of professional qualifications will be inimical to their interests.

Provided, however, that a strategy for recurrent education implies concentration upon the educational needs of the underprivileged, it offers the prospect of substantial reinforcement to the traditional aims of adult education. For if the public authorities, in collaboration with non-governmental agencies, were to offer a large volume and wide range of recurrent opportunities, young people at the school-leaving stage might confidently elect to go straight into a job or to combine paid employment with study, safe in the knowledge that at any time in the future their education could be resumed. This would then open up the possibility of substituting for three and more years of university level education full-time or part-time study at short-cycle institutions offering one- or two-year courses. The astonishing proliferation in Canada and the United States of community colleges is a foretaste of what could happen. With less public money being spent on the costly provision of higher education for a relatively small percentage of the school-leaving population, reasonable funds would become available for the provision of recurrent education for the adult population.

But recurrent education for the adult population must subsume both "Tertiary Education" (end on to compulsory schooling), occupational training and "Adult Education" or else vocational versus non-vocational and elitist versus democratic conflicts will be perpetuated. A truly comprehensive system of recurrent education would regard the following forms of education as equally important and interlocking, each exercising a claim upon public funds:

initial occupational training
post-experience occupational training
formal education courses
non-formal education courses
recreational education
aesthetic education

community education
education for personal development.

Since the introduction of recurrent education systems will necessitate careful co-ordination of educational programmes of all types, it is important to ensure that those currently responsible for the conduct of adult education agencies should be invited to play an active part in forward planning in order that their views and specialised knowledge may be taken into consideration.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WORLD OF WORK

The complex relationship between education and the employment system has been examined in depth by the Secretary-General's Working Party on Education and Employment.(1) It is also central to current OECD work on recurrent education (CERI) and adult training as an instrument of active manpower policy (Manpower Division). Here, therefore, the subject will be considered solely within the context of a strategy for expanding learning opportunities for adults.

Although their present relationship is structurally feeble, no one now seriously questions that adult education and the world of employment must be much more intimately connected than in the past when "education" and "training" were commonly viewed as distinct activities and training was in any case very largely associated with the young. This is not only for such well-known pragmatic reasons as that many of today's employees face the necessity of updating their knowledge and mastering new skills and that social justice requires that retraining courses be arranged for the unemployed, but also for the reason that many people will never become interested in active learning, and certainly not academic learning, unless initially attracted by the prospect of a material or status award. If it is true that some people follow training courses not one day after their immediate goal has been attained, it is no less true that others go on to take further courses and to acquire the habit of learning for purposes other than material gain. Furthermore, the notion of a learning society carries with it the implication that organised learning will take place not only in educational institutions but in the community at large and at work. For adults, indeed, the place of work potentially offers perhaps the most important of all learning environments provided that productivity and working efficiency are not the only touchstones.

1) Education and Working Life in Modern Society: Report of the Secretary-General's Ad Hoc Group on the Relations Between Education and Employment, OECD, Paris, 1975.

The relationship between education and employment can be approached from both the individual and the societal standpoint. For the individual, the main concern is that he should eventually secure a job which is reasonably well paid, offers congenial working conditions and is in keeping with his inclinations and talents. It may be that he will have the good fortune to find such a job on his initial entry into working life and not require any educational assistance throughout his career, but this prospect becomes increasingly unlikely. It is much more probable that he will have to change his job one or more times - either because his particular expertise becomes redundant or because he finds his working conditions intolerable or because healthy ambition impels him onwards. Moreover, within a particular trade or profession he will almost certainly be under constant pressure to adapt himself to new methods of work and new techniques. In either case he will be obliged to maintain or increase his occupational competence by study, exchanges of experience with others and a perpetual process of self-education.

In the past, those in or out of employment had as a rule to acquire new occupational knowledge or skills by means of study financed by themselves and, in the case of the employed, pursued outside normal working hours. Today, however, the learning task is frequently too onerous for the individual to undertake at his own expense and outside working hours. As a consequence, he requires both adequate financial support and the possibility of devoting to study some of his working hours or a block of uninterrupted time spanning weeks or months.

It has to be stressed that it no longer appears to be sufficient for the employee to acquire highly specialised knowledge or skills exclusively confined to his immediate employment, that is, he needs considerably more than strictly technical training. If training is regarded as strictly utilitarian, the trainer's job being merely to impart technical knowledge and skills, then the long-standing separation between vocational and general education will be formalised in a permanent divorce. The employee needs to be in touch with social and economic realities, to be able to develop his whole personality, to have an opportunity for creative self-expression and to play an active part in the employment process in which he is involved. Progress towards industrial democracy depends upon the existence of well-informed employees. The same is true of emerging schemes towards greater flexibility in working life.

From the societal standpoint the problem is how to satisfy the individual needs of employees and harmonize them with overall social objectives. Most countries now recognise that movement from one job to another or from one social milieu to another should not only be facilitated but regarded as a right of adults. Thus, the public

authorities almost everywhere are devising and financing ways and means of guaranteeing educational assistance to the worker whenever he presents a legitimate case for requiring it. For the employed, this presupposes, in the first place, that suitable educational facilities will be provided either on the job or in an external institution. Secondly, it presupposes that he shall have the right to study during working hours. Thirdly, it presupposes that he will be able to study without loss of income. For the unemployed, it presupposes that he will have the opportunity to follow a course of training that will lead to a particular employment. Finally, for both the employed and the unemployed, it presupposes that vocational guidance and counselling facilities will be easily accessible and so efficient that the worker will be fully aware of the educational opportunities available to him and able to select a course of study appropriate to his talents and aspirations.

Despite the recent trend for countries to devise national schemes for financing training on an ample scale and to make training opportunities available to all, the evidence indicates that, as in other sectors of education, employees who already have qualifications are more likely to attend courses than those with little initial education; this is true of those in professional occupations and the majority of employees in managerial positions. The bulk of the labour force, however, does not engage in further education in significant numbers, especially unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers and employees in small firms. There is also the problem that many unemployed men and many married women who would like to work lack the necessary qualifications to find a job. A major problem, therefore, is how to ensure that educational opportunities related to employment are more equitably distributed. Particular enterprises usually of considerable size and with great resources have successfully or partially found a solution to the problem by introducing enlightened training and promotion schemes, but for the employment sector as a whole there is no doubt that a solution could be found specifically through measures initiated by the public authorities in conjunction with employees and trade unions.

Several structural factors have to be considered with regard to the relationship between adult education and the employment system. Above all, there is the question of who shall be responsible for determining the educational role of the employment system. The conclusion derived from the foregoing reasoning is that it must be the public authorities. It does not necessarily follow, however, that they should directly provide any facilities whatever, though it is usually essential that they do so. The ideal arrangement appears to be one in which educational opportunities are provided by a variety of institutions including enterprises, trade unions, public

educational institutions, specialised public training centres, professional associations and private bodies. There must be, however, mechanisms for active co-ordination at the national and local level. Moreover, it is incumbent upon the public authorities to supply some of the necessary finance and to ensure that, by one method or another, adequate funds are raised. The financing of educational opportunities geared to employment is discussed in the CERI report Recurrent Education: Trends and Issues, OECD (Paris, 1975) which was considered prior to publication and generally welcomed at the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education held in June 1975. Finally it must be possible for employees to obtain leave of absence from work without loss of income. This whole question is extensively reviewed with specific reference to nine European countries and the United States in the recent CERI publication Developments in Educational Leave of Absence, OECD (Paris, 1976).

There are four particular educational matters that require systematic investigation if the adult education/employment relationship is to be strengthened. The first concerns the content of courses and has two aspects: (a) the risk of a mismatch between the content and the knowledge and skills required for the job being performed or to be performed; (b) the content is often needlessly narrow so that the opportunity is missed of giving the student a truly enriching experience. The second concerns teaching methods. Those who teach adults do not always take into account the learning characteristics that distinguish children from adults. The third concerns methods of certification and accreditation. The present system often deters employees with limited education from participating in courses or requires them to follow courses beyond their capacity and to deal with areas of study which have no occupational or other practical relevance. Finally, there is a certain failure to evaluate the effectiveness of training programmes both in regard to the learning achievement of individuals and their effectiveness in terms of productivity or occupational efficiency.

The education of trade unionists has long been one of the key functions of adult education. Much of it has been conducted by the unions themselves but there is an established tradition in many countries whereby adult education agencies such as workers educational associations and university extension departments make a substantial contribution. It is in only a few countries, however, that the public authorities directly subsidise trade union education. Recent experience has shown that trade union officials at all levels cannot function efficiently unless they not only fully understand the structures and problems of the occupations to which they relate but also see the connection between the jobs and general well-being of their own members and the general social and economic state of

the nation. There is accordingly a prima facie case, where the national circumstances permit, for the public authorities to collaborate with trade unions in the promotion of general as well as trade union education.

In the last resort, the disposition of men and women in the labour force to continue or not to continue their own education is the critical factor in determining whether the world of employment performs a powerful or a minor educational role. By and large the public authorities, supported by the activities of many employers and trade unions, have now taken steps to provide the machinery for expanding educational opportunities within and for employment. In order that these opportunities may be seized not by a few but by the great majority of those in or seeking employment it now remains to bring about a change in prevailing attitudes. This may be achieved where there is financial and physical encouragement from the public authorities, trust between management and workers, and joint consultative and planning committees consisting of government officials, employers, trade unions and all the educational agencies able to make a contribution.

VI. RESOURCES

FINANCIAL POLICIES

Remarkably little information is available about the financing of adult education. Although crucially important, it is a subject which has escaped the attention of researchers and only recently has it become a regular item on the agendas of official and professional meetings. Today there is increasing interest in the economics of adult education largely aroused by the realisation that expenditure on occupational training by public and private employers has become very substantial and therefore calls for close public surveillance. But the dearth of solid information remains and what there is does not easily lend itself to comparative treatment.

Some of the difficulties in estimating expenditure upon adult education are as follows:

i) Many adult education programmes are run by public authorities with responsibility for the general education service or by agencies for which adult education is only a secondary or incidental concern. In either case they usually provide supporting services (plant, lighting, heating, equipment and sometimes even salaries) out of their overall budgets and do not try to separate out even a notional percentage for the adult education element. One may cite the example of those universities which arrange extra-mural programmes and underwrite all the costs not met out of revenue from students' fees or government subsidies. They can produce details of their expenditure on teachers' salaries but rarely attempt to estimate non-teaching costs.

ii) For central or even local government the expenditure on adult education may be so small a percentage of the gross expenditure on education that it is administratively not worthwhile to keep a separate account and to arrange for special audits.

iii) When adult education programmes are provided by the public authorities it is often difficult to disentangle the central government from the local government contribution.

iv) Adult education programmes are often administered and organised by personnel with other responsibilities. For example, a trade union officer may well be required, among other duties, to supervise an educational scheme. It is a very rare organisation indeed that includes an appropriate portion of the salaries of such personnel under the heading of educational expenditure.

v) Then there is the danger of double counting. Many public authorities give substantial grants to non-governmental adult education agencies. Both the donors and the recipients usually show the grants as part of their expenditures. It is only too obvious that in order correctly to establish the aggregate expenditure of public authorities and receiving agencies it is essential to count grants only once.

vi) Some institutions indirectly support adult education by providing special services. The best example is the public library, which may supply accommodation for classes, sets of books and learning aids, provide free publicity for adult education courses and even assign a librarian to concentrate upon adult education programmes as a part-time or full-time commitment. Throughout a whole country the expenditure on services of this kind must add up to a substantial amount but it is virtually impossible at the present time even to guess at a figure not merely because of the immense difficulty of collecting information from thousands of institutions but because few such institutions measure the size of their financial contribution to adult education.

Before national policies for the promotion of adult education can be formulated with any precision it is obvious that detailed information is required about the present scale of expenditure and the means employed for financing programmes. Decisions about the state's share of costs vis-à-vis private agencies or about which agencies should receive financial support or about the extent to which the participants themselves should bear the economic costs hinge upon knowing the facts of the present situation.(1)

1) "An adequate adult education programme requires adequate financial support; achieving adequate financial support depends upon the education of adults. This cyclic dilemma is basic and common to leaders of adult education in all areas - tax-supported institutions, private agencies and co-ordinative organisations. How can public recognition of the value of adult education be developed within the respective constituencies sufficiently to evoke responsible action? The financial and the educational elements of this question are inextricably linked. Each exerts a controlling influence on the other ..."

W.V. Bell, "Finance, Legislation and Public Policy for Adult Education" in M.S. Knowles, ed., Handbook of Adult Education in the United States (Chicago, 1960), p.138.

Enough evidence is available, however, to confirm that at the present time adult education agencies are in general short of funds to implement existing programmes up to the standards required and they have no room or very little room for expansion. Indeed, in more than one country public expenditure on adult education has recently declined as a percentage of expenditure on education as a whole. This raises the question of the extent to which the state should assume responsibility for the financing of the comprehensive service herein advocated.

Not only are the majority of providers of adult education generally short of funds by comparison with other sectors of education but very often the shortage is most acute among those agencies striving to deal with the needs of the educationally underprivileged described above. This is because a tradition has often become entrenched whereby once agencies have been granted subventions from public funds they continue to receive them indefinitely regardless of the relevance of their programmes to overall social priorities. There seems to be no other solution to this general and particular shortage of finance but for the public authorities greatly to enlarge their total financial contribution and to indicate from time to time a list of priority activities which they regard as qualifying for grants. This may well mean increasing their financial support to some agencies while withdrawing it from others.

There is one sector of adult education to which both governments and commercial undertakings have devoted large sums of money during recent years. This sector is occupational training.(1) For example, in Canada, the Federal Government and some provincial governments have become involved in efforts to assist companies to increase their productivity through training for both managerial and production employees. Assistance takes the form either of direct financial aid, under Federal legislation passed in 1967, or of the setting up of diagnostic or training agencies serving small or medium-sized businesses. Examples of the latter are le Centre d'Organisation Scientifique de l'Entreprise (Centre for Scientific Business Management) and the consulting service of le Centre des Dirigeants d'Entreprise (Business Managers' Association). Both receive funds from the Quebec Department of Labour and Manpower. In such estimates of national expenditure on adult education as have been made the point has been reiterated that expenditure on this particular form is many

1) The studies prepared for the Working Party on Educational Statistics and Indicators bear out the fact that expenditure on adult education is highly concentrated upon manpower training. In Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom expenditure on vocational education greatly exceeds the expenditure on general education. In Canada, the expenditure on general education appears to be higher but the figures are said to be suspect (see Table VI).

times greater than that on all other forms combined. Such expenditure includes not only direct training costs but payment of salaries during leave of absence from work, travelling expenses and bonuses for professional upgrading of skills.

SOURCES OF REVENUE: THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Relatively few non-vocational adult education programmes are exclusively financed from public funds. Even when the public authorities themselves are direct providers it is the usual practice to recoup some of the expenditure by charging fees to the participants. These fees sometimes represent only a fraction of the true cost but very often they are intended to cover all or the greater part of the costs. Non-governmental agencies in receipt of public funds are as a rule expected to meet a significant proportion of their total expenditure out of their own resources or participants' fees or a combination of both. Many non-governmental agencies are entirely self-financing.

In the past, the public authorities spent relatively little either on direct provision of adult education or in the form of grants to non-governmental agencies. Recently, there has been a striking change. In several countries the public authorities now bear a good part of the aggregate national expenditure from all sources (see Table VI). Moreover, their expenditure on adult education appears to be increasing as a proportion of their expenditure on education in general. For example, in Sweden the proportion has now reached 14 per cent.

In a recent report on the financing of adult education the Committee for Out-of-School Education of the Council of Europe recorded, in the light of its enquiries, that:

> It appears to be generally recognised that the state (i.e. all public authorities ranging from the government to the local authority) accepts the promotion of adult education as one of its duties as is the case with school and university education. This means that a financial contribution towards the cost of a comprehensive system of adult education is a duty of the state; a number of delegates go further and think that the basic financing of adult education as a part of public education is a duty of the state.(1)

1) Committee for Out-of-School Education (Council of Europe) Financial Aspects of Adult Education (Strasbourg, 1969), p.20.

Table VI

EXPENDITURE ON ADULT AND YOUTH EDUCATION IN SELECTED OECD COUNTRIES AROUND 1970*

Country	Year of reference	Expenditure on Adult Education of which on			Expenditure on Youth Education
		Total	Vocational education	General education	(in millions of national currency)
Canada	1970/71	683	323	360	4,718
France	1971		6,280		26,025
Germany	1970 or 1971	8,371	8,186	185	18,108
Sweden	around 1970	1,116 1,023(a)	641 625(a)	475 398(a)	10,785 4,507(a)
United Kingdom	1970	1,300 1,500 1,000/ 1,200(c)	1,100 1,300 800/ 1,000 (c)	200 200(c)	2,850(b) 2,280(c)

* Evidence derived from country case-studies prepared for the Working Group of the Education Committee on Statistics and Indicators.

Definitions and Sources:

Canada: Source for expenditure on youth education: Survey of Education Finance 1968, Statistics Canada.

France: Including "gross" remunerations of trainees, i.e. no allowance being made for the value of their productive work.
Source for expenditure on youth education: Données budgétaires relatives à l'éducation nationale, ministère de l'éducation nationale, Paris, 1973.

Germany: Comprises only public expenditures and expenditures of private firms; excludes professional training, initial in-service training, churches, correspondence courses.
Source for expenditure on youth education: Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1972.

Sweden: Excluding vocational training in industrial and commercial firms and in the Civil Service, general adult education at university level, correspondence education.
For general adult education, figures include only public expenditures.
a) Expenditures of central government only.
Source for expenditure on youth education: Yearbook of Nordic Statistics, 1972.

United Kingdom: Including all part-time further education; vocational training expenditures include wages and salaries of trainees.
b) Including only full-time education.
c) Excluding wages and salaries of trainees.

SUPPORT FOR NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

Among the countries which believe in generously subsidising non-governmental agencies are Austria(1), Canada, Denmark, Norway, Sweden(2) and the United Kingdom.(3) It is to be noted that the subventions given by the public authorities do not as a rule match the entire costs of the receiving agencies. Rather they vary according to the educational programmes on offer. So, when it is considered that the programmes being provided would otherwise fall to the responsibility of the public authorities themselves, there is a tendency to be particularly generous. Thus in Norway the authorities have progressively raised their contribution to the total costs to a very high level; the authorities in Sweden meet up to 85 per cent and in the United Kingdom up to approximately 70 per cent of the costs of certain nationwide agencies. Certain authorities distinguish among the range of programmes offered by an agency, financing some of them but not others. There is also an increasing tendency for the public authorities to provide ample support for specific educational programmes rather than to agencies as such; in Italy, for example, literacy classes may be heavily subsidised regardless of who provides them.

In addition, there are certain special financial arrangements. Some authorities subsidise a portion of the administrative costs of nationwide agencies or national associations. Again, some authorities do not give grants as such but provide assistance at a financial cost to themselves. In Germany, for instance, school premises are made available free of charge or at a nominal charge. Other arrangements include allowing exemption from taxation (Japan), providing free textbooks and learning aids and tendering free expert advice.

Neither the authorities nor the receiving agencies are usually in favour of an agency's entire income being derived from public funds. The reason for this is that agencies tend to lose their vitality and to become complacent when no longer under any necessity to fend for themselves.

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1) Recent legislation in Austria recommended increased subsidies to voluntary agencies.

2) The Swedish Government meets up to 75 per cent of teachers' or study circle leaders' fees.

3) The Department of Education and Science subsidises university extra-mural departments and districts of the Workers' Educational Association up to around 70 per cent of their teaching costs besides giving grants towards the administrative expenses of the national headquarters of accredited voluntary agencies.

PRIVATE EXPENDITURE

In most countries there is a large amount of private expenditure on adult education. In Canada, Japan and the United States such expenditure is probably in excess of the public outlay. The bulk of this expenditure is attributable to employers, especially to the big corporations, some of which invest vast sums in occupational training.(1) Collective bargaining by trade unions is also leading to an increase in this type of expenditure, especially in the United States. In addition, certain private charitable organisations have also contributed aid on a handsome scale, notably the Carnegie, Ford and W.K. Kellogg foundations.

PARTICIPANTS' FEES

A question facing all public authorities is how far should adult education programmes be free of charge to the participants or at least no more costly than parallel programmes offered by the regular system. The consensus of opinion appears to come down in favour of adults making at least some contribution to the cost of their studies.(2) At the same time, there is a clear trend both to relate the fees charged to adults to the fees charged by the regular system and to exempt altogether from fees such categories of adults as illiterates, the unemployed and the elderly.

In accordance with long-established tradition the public authorities in a majority of European countries still charge either nominal or relatively low fees. Moreover, they usually require agencies in receipt of grants to charge fees on a par with their own. By contrast, in Canada and the United States the public authorities normally expect adult students to pay for the economic cost of a course, unless it is specially planned for an underprivileged group. Such evidence as is available indicates that there may be a trend in some of the European countries not to charge economic fees but,

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1) In a paper prepared for the Working Party on Educational Statistics and Indicators, Maureen Woodhall concluded: "Adults taking non-vocational courses, who represent more than 20 per cent of the total number of young people in full-time education, receive less than 1 per cent of total educational resources, whereas the cost of vocational education or training for adults, who represent 20 to 30 per cent of the total number in formal education, is nearly 50 per cent of the total expenditure on regular education ..."

M. Woodhall, "Adult Education and Training in the United Kingdom: an Estimate of the Volume and Costs of all Forms of Adult Education," OECD roneoed document, 1974, p.53.

2) Cf. "A reasonable contribution by adults to the cost of their own education is, as a rule, to be expected". (Council of Europe, op. cit. p.20).

little by little, to raise fees to a substantially higher level than in the past.

The reason for this trend appears to relate partly to the general rise in educational costs and the consequent need for economies and partly to a recognition of the fact observed above that such a high proportion of participants may be regarded as already privileged or at least relatively privileged. At the same time, it is commonly acknowledged that even nominally low fees will act as a disincentive to the participation of adults from the lower-income groups. Furthermore, there is abundant historical evidence that when public as well as private agencies are compelled to charge economic fees they rapidly drop all their uneconomic activities and thereby drive out of their programmes adults with the greatest needs.

One possible solution to the problem of participants' fees would seem to be to distinguish between economic and non-economic courses. Economic courses would be of two kinds:

i) those for students who (either as a result of having already completed an aided course or otherwise) have already studied the relevant subject to the highest level which an aided course in the centre concerned can offer and wish to pursue their interests in the subject purely as a recreation; and

ii) those of a mainly recreative kind which are similar to courses which might be followed privately (golf instruction, for example) or which might popularly be regarded as luxuries.(1)

Non-economic courses would automatically apply to those participants judged to be too poor to pay fees or in need of special assistance (all the target groups enumerated on page 32. They might also apply to groups judged to require assistance in accordance with a national priority such as to enable all adults to complete secondary education. It is to be noted, however, that certain countries would not countenance any discrimination in the matter of fees.

Several countries are now disposed to give financial aid to adults who wish to complete their initial education or, as pointed out above, to undergo vocational training. To take two examples:

a) The 1972 Education Amendments passed by the United States Congress make it possible for an adult to receive an allowance in order to pay for the furtherance of his education at an institution of his own choosing.

b) Germany's Employment Promotion Act of 25th June, 1969 not only provides for the educational costs of those undergoing

1) Scottish Education Department, op. cit., p.88.

training but for their personal upkeep and for family allowances. Trainees in Australia are also guaranteed an allowance not lower than the national minimum wage.

EXPENDITURE ON PERSONNEL

A very large part of the teaching of adults and a good proportion of the related administration are carried out by part-time rather than full-time staff. It is traditional in many countries to regard such contributions to adult education as honorary to a greater or less extent. This attitude is reflected in the fact that emoluments tend to be nominal or well below the comparative salary scales obtaining in the regular system. There appears to be no doubt that in some countries the tradition of voluntary effort is so powerful that adult education services do not thereby suffer. In some countries, however, there is equally no doubt that many well-qualified people decline to teach adults because of the lack of a financial incentive and that many part-time teachers and organisers do not feel motivated to give of their best. The question of scales of fees and allowances for part-time staff would accordingly seem to require investigation.

SECURE FINANCING ESSENTIAL

If adult education is to become a comprehensive public service it is clearly essential that, in most countries, it should be funded on a far bigger scale than at the present time. Some increase in revenue is likely to be gained from the growing expenditure by employers and a rising fee income from participants. In the last resort, however, it is evident that if all the providing agencies fail to supply resources to a level defined by the public authorities as optimal or at least satisfactory, the authorities themselves must meet the shortfall. In a recent report on recurrent education a contributor on the subject of paid educational leave argued in favour of state financing for reasons that might well apply to nearly all aspects of adult education:

1. As the state is assumed to be in a position to attain generally accepted aims for the benefit of society and to enforce public control, it can best secure educational leave for all employees, and
2. Consequently, financing by the state seems to be the most promising way of guaranteeing the correspondence between

educational activities (e.g. educational leave) and general political and social aims.(1)

The report on financial aspects of adult education of the Council of Europe's Committee for Out-of-School Education specified items of expenditure for which the state might assume responsibility:

- building, equipment and maintenance of centres especially built for adult education in which activities can be developed properly;
- responsibility for numbers and salaries of full-time staff and their conditions of employment;
- preparatory and in-service training of full and part-time staff;
- developing contacts between people working in adult education at regional, national and international levels;
- supporting financially the current costs of activities of adult education organisations and the associations to which they may be affiliated if their own resources are insufficient for these purposes;
- financing of educational research with special reference to adult education;
- financing of educational planning in the context of general long-term planning.(2)

A meeting of national experts at OECD formulated the following list of items:

a) occupational training;
b) subsidies towards paid educational leave;
c) the building, equipment and maintenance of centres specially designed for adult education;
d) the training of professional adult educators;
e) the salaries of full-time administrative and teaching staff outside the employment sector and profit-making agencies;
f) preparatory and in-service training of full and part-time staff;
g) supporting prescribed costs of activities of adult education organisations and the associations to which they may be affiliated if their own resources are insufficient for these purposes;
h) developmental programmes in the areas, for example, of literacy and community development;

1) F. Edding, "Educational Leave and Sources of Funding" in Selma J. Muskin, ed., Recurrent Education (Washington, 1973), p.248.

2) Council of Europe, op. cit., p.21.

i) educational research with special reference to adult education.

In order to fund a major expansion of adult education the public authorities are not obliged to rely upon tax income. They can require employers to meet all or most of the cost of occupational training or general education for the workforce or both.

It is evidently difficult for countries to face a sharp increase in public expenditure on adult education during the current period of budgetary constraints. Important economies would doubtless be achieved, however, if the expansion of adult education were to be planned in the context of a recurrent education strategy, especially by forging closer organisational links between formal and non-formal education.

Discussions about the financing of adult education tend to focus exclusively on the cost factor. It is important also to weigh in the balance the external benefits which may accrue from adult education programmes not only to individual participants but also to the public good. The individual gain may be obvious, that is, increased earning power or personality enrichment, but seldom is any attempt made to measure the benefits to society at large. Yet these benefits may be so substantial as to outweigh the costs. For example, in so far as occupational training programmes prevent unemployment they save expenditure on unemployment benefits, enable the individual to contribute to national and local revenues through taxation, and may save public expenditure on making good the losses incurred through anti-social behaviour and crime. Other gains from adult education programmes are less easy to quantify but may be no less significant: expanding the individual's range of occupational choice and choice of leisure activities, more social cohesiveness, heightened civic consciousness, increased voluntary activities, more community action and individual therapy.

To confine attention to individual rather than collective benefits may also conceal the invaluable multiplier effect of some adult education programmes. Those adults who take the trouble to learn a new skill or to enlarge their knowledge frequently give guidance and pass on information to others. For example, a trade unionist who attends an intensive course on the causes and effects of inflation may well share the insights and knowledge he acquires with his fellow workers.

It is self-evident that the additional finance required to establish and sustain a comprehensive adult education service would have to come from a fresh governmental allocation or existing education budgets. Since a very large part of educational budgets is already irrevocably committed to salaries and unavoidable recurrent

costs it is difficult to see how existing budgets could take the strain. However, if more young people at the school-leaving age could be encouraged to opt for part-time rather than full-time education up to the completion of the upper secondary level and beyond, then there might be a financial margin to play with. If not, the sole solution is for governments to find the additional money. Ultimately, the delicate political issue cannot be dodged that it may be possible to finance adult education on an ample scale only by deliberately according it financial preference when making increased allocations to education as a whole. Of course, in the future there may be growing underemployment and unemployment of educational resources in the initial education sectors of several OECD countries, and this spare capacity could be used for adult education.

The overwhelming majority of organising and teaching staff engaged in adult education programmes are employed on a part-time and often voluntary basis. Thus, adult education has been able to draw upon a full variety of community resources. Progress, however, is hampered by a general scarcity of full-time, professionally trained administrators, organisers, teachers and specialists of various kinds, such as writers of programmed learning texts and broadcasting producers. Relatively few of the small cadres of full-time staff have received much, if any, professional training. In addition, there is a general absence of career structures so that, even in countries where teaching and administrative posts in adult education are fairly numerous, it is usually necessary for those who aspire to senior posts to transfer to another branch of education.

It follows that it is desirable to adopt public policies on staffing and training designed to:

a) increase the complement of full-time staff of all types;
b) ensure that as far as possible senior posts are established at appropriate levels by comparison with those in other sectors of the education system;
c) introduce attractive career structures, while at the same time avoiding the danger of over-stratifying or specialising the service, or losing the flexibility which should exist in the case of "non-professionals";
d) require that sufficient resources be allocated so that full-time staff may undergo adequate professional training;
e) gradually ensure that all part-time staff undergo at least some training;
f) enlarge the training responsibility of post-secondary institutions, particularly universities;
g) facilitate the movement of staff within the whole educational system.

As countries rationalise the provision of educational facilities for all age-groups it will become increasingly necessary to consider the possibility of administrators and teachers serving alternately in the school and adult services or working simultaneously in both, as at present in community schools where many teachers already combine teaching the young during the daytime with teaching adults in the evening or supervising evening programmes. In order that all teachers and educational administrators should be potentially able to appreciate and to cope effectively with the distinctive learning needs and special problems of adults, it is also desirable to include in all initial and in-service training courses for educators a course component on the aims, methods and techniques of adult education. Special training would be required for programmes directed to vocational and basic education. It is evident, of course, that the problem of training for adult education personnel will not be solved only by a requirement that appropriate training should be included in initial professional courses. Periodic post-experience training is also called for.

ACCOMMODATION AND OTHER RESOURCES

As far as accommodation and other support services and resources are concerned, adult education is the least demanding sector of education. In one sense, adult education is unique in that it can be designed to draw upon the resources of the individual himself and in the use of such means as the mass media and correspondence courses. An adequate support infrastructure is, however, essential. The greater part of its requirements can be met from existing public and private facilities provided they are made freely available. But currently there are two major difficulties. The first is that existing facilities are by no means always "made freely available" and those which are available are frequently hedged in by restrictions imposed by the regular users. Few cases, for example, exist where accommodation is suitable for study at the working place. The second difficulty is that facilities are commonly available only during the evening and at weekends. In days when adult education was viewed exclusively or primarily as a night-time or weekend activity this was not unreasonable. However, now that so many adults - not only housewives and the retired - wish to study during the daytime it has become an irksome constraint.

A theoretical solution to the accommodation problem is to erect buildings for the exclusive use of adult education, but in the current period of financial stringency this is unthinkable on grounds of cost; even in a period of expanding educational budgets the cost

might be considered exorbitant. At the same time, it is necessary to assign some buildings exclusively to adult use, both day and residential, so that daytime accommodation can be available. Such accommodation is needed also because many adults who are hostile to or shy of visiting formal education institutions will attend free-standing adult education centres. Most metropolitan areas can afford to maintain at least one large centre exclusively for adult use and many of them already do so.

But clearly the accommodation needs of adult education must largely be met by making use of existing educational plant together with libraries, museums, art galleries and other institutions under public control. It has been shown that even schools of old-fashioned design can be made attractive to adults by means of relatively minor adaptations. As for new schools, they can be, and often are, deliberately designed to cater for adults, as well as school children, either by adapting the open-plan system or by incorporating an adult education wing or annex.

Several countries have decided that one of the most satisfactory solutions to the problem of accommodation for adult education is to opt for the community school model, which assumes that adults have as legitimate a claim on educational buildings as the young. The community college model is perhaps even more suitable in that it caters for all age groups beyond compulsory schooling. Mingling all age groups and both full-time and part-time users in a single establishment helps to symbolise the lifelong dimension of education and to put adult learners more at their ease. The community school or college model is not the only way and may not be the best way of making educational premises equally available for school and other community purposes.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

By comparison with educational research in general there has been relatively little research in adult education, partly because the necessary funds have not been available. It is obvious, however, that a significant expansion of learning opportunities for adults is dependent upon the existence of a solid research base and suitable machinery for translating research findings into operational practice. To this end it is essential that increased public expenditure on the provision for adult education should include an allocation earmarked for research and development. Whether research should largely be undertaken within universities or by a specially created national centre or by a combination of both is a question for the public authorities to determine in the light of practical expediency.

VII. PRACTICAL MEASURES TO WIDEN ACCESS

SPECIFIC MEASURES

Policy objectives in widening access, particularly with regard to the disadvantaged, have been dealt with in earlier parts of this report. If it is decided in any particular country that widening access is a primary objective in relation to all sections of society then some on all of the following practical measures may be required. Such measures cannot be considered in isolation from broader objectives and initiatives by population groups themselves to define their own needs and choose their own methods of instruction:

a) bring about a revolution in methods of recruitment. In the first instance, this entails obtaining accurate information about the image of adult education currently in people's minds and studying the dynamics of motivation in the broader contexts of social and political participation;

b) establish a nationwide network of counselling and guidance services;

c) systematically design programmes to fit the needs of target groups in conjunction with agencies in direct contact with such groups; encourage the identification of the needs of special categories within these groups;

d) train administrators, leaders (e.g. trade unionists), and organisers so that they become skilful at identifying and analysing un-met needs;

e) encourage group and community activities by the systematic adoption of informal methods, for example, by bringing together groups of parents to study child development out of concern for the education of their children;

f) expand the general education component in occupational training courses;

g) systematically use the mass media for direct and indirect educational purposes;

h) enable individual learners to formulate their own learning activities by providing access to materials and other learning resources in the home and community;

i) encourage research and development projects.

GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING FACILITIES

Among the foregoing measures one urgent priority is to arouse the interest of participants, to inculcate in people a motivation for lifelong learning, and to deter inexperienced students from dropping out. At present, the adult who wants to satisfy a specific learning need is often not aware of where to find a suitable programme. The adult with a sense of need which he cannot satisfactorily articulate may not know where to go for constructive advice. The adult who embarks on a course of study and finds it unsuitable may have no one to turn to for assistance in redirecting his energies. Many adults pay dearly for instruction which might have been obtained at little cost or no cost at all. Others follow courses of study in the mistaken belief that by acquiring a paper qualification they will automatically be assured of a better job and a higher social status, whereas it does not follow that, because entry to a desired craft or profession requires a specific qualification, a suitable job will in the event be available.

A policy for extending adult education opportunities to a large public accordingly entails the establishment and maintenance of a sophisticated network of guidance and counselling services. It is not sufficient simply to provide more centres and more courses and to publicise them in orthodox ways. Potential participants, above all the underprivileged, need to be able to choose what suits them, and this means that advisers must be appointed in considerable numbers to assist individuals and groups to decide which offerings best respond to their educational concerns.

At the present time, guidance and counselling facilities are glaringly inadequate. In France, for example, according to Professor Rovan(1), the provision of adult education is scattered and offered by a considerable number of agencies operating separately, and the information and publicity media at their disposal are quite inadequate. Many of these activities, he says, "flourish in a sort of semi-clandestine atmosphere. Most authorities organise their own publicity schemes within a very narrow context; the limited means of dissemination are thus ill-employed in parallel and competitive actions so that the vast majority of the population are never reached". Limited guidance and counselling facilities are now available in several countries including Austria, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, but it is agreed by common consent that they are quite inadequate. The Carnegie Commission has recommended the establishment of Educational Opportunity Centres:

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1) J Rovan, "Obstacles and Resistance to Adult Education", OECD roneoed document, 1974.

For some students, academic support from community agencies outside the formal classroom structure may prove effective. Several Californian junior and senior colleges, acting independently and following the pattern of other states and private campuses, have established programmes for improving the academic skills of pre-college students. The central feature of these programmes is a series of year-round tutorial centres for elementary and secondary school children, offering the services of paid and trained college and high school students. Information centres have also been established in some metropolitan centres (e.g., Milwaukee) so that parents and students may obtain information and advice about career possibilities and opportunities for higher education. These centres serve both a counselling and recruiting function.

An educational opportunity centre combining the features of tutorial work and advice could:

- provide study space and tutorial help,
- clarify vocational and educational goals,
- conduct complementary testing for level of achievement, aptitude, and interests,
- provide information concerning financial and academic support available at local colleges,
- prepare detailed documentation for use by admissions and financial aid officers.

Many of these functions could be performed by college students supported by work-study funds.

The Commission recommends that institutions of higher education, either alone or in conjunction with local school districts, establish educational opportunity centres to serve areas with major concentrations of low-income populations.(1)

Adult education agencies which conscientiously strive to assist the educationally underprivileged must deliberately seek out people at work and at home in their communities and persuade them that by participating in an educational activity they might ease some of their problems. This personal contact approach has been described as one of outreach and is illustrated by the policies of the University of Wisconsin campus at Green Bay and the experiments undertaken by Fovux in Sweden. The Fovux experiment, which has been highly successful, entailed trade union representatives making individual contacts with workers in industrial concerns and encouraging them to join specially designed study circle programmes.

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1) Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, A Chance to Learn (New Jersey, 1970), pp.7-8.

NON-TRADITIONAL FORMS OF STUDY

There can be no question that any attempt to transform participation in adult education from a minority to a majority undertaking will necessitate a sharp acceleration in the trend for public authorities to encourage, and existing adult education agencies to adopt, "non-traditional forms of study". So far this term has largely been applied to the linear education of those finishing post-secondary schooling. It thereby ignores the self-evident truth that many adults did not experience secondary education, except perhaps in a nominal sense, and that both young and mature adults experience many educational needs that formal post-secondary education is not geared to or indeed expected to satisfy and cannot be reorientated to satisfy without modifying its essential nature.

FORMS OF INNOVATION

Recent innovations represent attempts to construct time-free, space-free and age-free programmes carefully adapted to individual learning needs and making optimum use of a wide range of instructional aids together with educational broadcasting. Collectively, they remove many of the former barriers to learning at all levels and in nearly all individual circumstances. These innovations includ :

i) employing members of staff whose academic qualifications would previously have been considered inadequate;
ii) employing on part-time contracts instructors engaged in industry and commerce, for example, accountants, lawyers, construction engineers and electricians;
iii) broadening the traditional curricula so as to include new subjects and to allow students to study new combinations of subjects;
iv) introducing novel methods of instruction either to complement or to replace traditional methods, for example, tuition by correspondence or programmed learning devices;
v) relaxing admission regulations, for example, by regarding work experience as an alternative to completing the normal period of secondary education;
vi) acknowledging, for the purpose of accreditation, periods of study undertaken in other institutions;
vii) permitting registered students to follow courses away from institutional centres;
viii) permitting and indeed encouraging students to study on a part-time basis in the evenings or at weekends or at summer schools or for periodic blocks of full-time attendance;

ix) using continuous assessment rather than terminal examinations as a means of final certification;

x) co-operating with other institutions in the provision and recognition of courses of instruction.

The major policy question which arises regarding non-traditional forms of study is this: will they be allowed to multiply more or less expediently in response to immediate pressures and local exigencies or will the public authorities seek to control them as part of a national development strategy for adult education? This is a crucial question, for if multiplication by response is encouraged without a parallel controlled development, the result will be that some geographical areas and many sectors of the population will suffer neglect. In order to ensure an equitable distribution of non-traditional learning opportunities, a rational and egalitarian development plan, centrally conceived but not necessarily centrally controlled, would seem to be called for.

INNOVATIVE PROGRAMMES

A variety of innovative programmes is required if the socio-economic composition of participants in adult education is to be substantially altered. On the basis of current developments these programmes may be summarised under six heads:

a) work-oriented;
b) community-based;
c) individualised learning opportunities;
d) technology-centred;
e) attitude reinforcement;
f) civic literacy and cultural.

EDUCATION AND WORK PROGRAMMES

The measures taken by governments and private enterprises to provide adult training and education to improve skills and competences were noted above. These programmes seek to improve competences through activities directly applicable to work, indirectly applicable to work, and applicable to general welfare and survival. They include:

a) literacy, and especially "functional literacy";
b) second language courses for immigrants.
c) basic formal adult education programmes at elementary and secondary levels;

d) manpower development;
e) vocational training and retraining;
f) professional upgrading;
g) health, welfare, family living and safety.

All these programmes need to be reinforced, improved and expanded.

Existing types of short-cycle institutions, such as the two-year multi-purpose "community" colleges have proved their value in meeting local needs.(1) Short-cycle institutions are an important part of the education system in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States and, more recently, have taken root in Norway (District Colleges) and in Yugoslavia (the "Više Škole").

INDIVIDUALISED LEARNING STRATEGIES

These are being developed by various means:

a) programmed learning (texts and machines);
b) learning activity packages;
c) mini-courses;
d) correspondence courses;
e) peer learning;
f) short-cycle courses for early school-leavers and drop-outs.

Programmed learning texts and tapes are valuable adjuncts to basic education and language training programmes. Learning activity packages help the learner to acquire specified skills or information. A number of types of learning packages have been developed in the United States, particularly to encourage mastery of primary skills. Mini-courses offer learners manageable and highly specific learning opportunities outside traditional school structures. They focus on such skills as computer operation, typing and operating a farm machine. Mini-courses are often referred to as "training sessions" and they are best understood as such. Correspondence courses are designed to assist learning without a teacher being present. For those who dislike the classroom or any formal setting or who cannot attend an institution, study by correspondence fills an important gap. Peer learning, i.e. studying with fellow workers or friends,

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1) Cf. "Learning is a natural and necessary condition of humanity that should not and cannot be confined to formal educational institutions. It is a lifelong process which occurs in the real-life situations of the community as well as in educational facilities. A fundamental purpose of a community college, therefore, is to provide learning opportunities and encourage learning throughout the wider community as well as within walls." Working paper on the Community College in British Columbia: Towards the Learning Community, Department of Education, British Columbia, 1974, p.2.

provides a shared experience which encourages the acquisition of desired information. The study circle movement in Scandinavia has long exemplified the principle of peer group learning. Short-cycle courses for drop-outs and early school-leavers, as emphasized in OECD policy papers, are particularly important since they provide opportunities for those who left school early to complete their initial education.

Community-based learning is being encouraged by means of:

a) street academies (e.g. the Harlem Street Academy);
b) "co-operative" programmes;
c) community action projects.

A wide range of community-based learning opportunities is sorely needed. Street academies established by local communities in urban areas, make use of parents, community members and peer learners to assist others in developing essential skills. Co-operative programmes include experiments combining class and field training with self-financing activities. Such programmes use members of the community as teachers and assistants and usually receive community contributions of money, food or labour as required. Community action projects involve local groups in studying community problems and with the aid of the public authorities taking steps to deal with them.

Technology-centred education is being developed by means of:

a) the broadcasting media;
b) learning resource centres;
c) computer assisted instruction;
d) multi-media instructional systems;
e) mobile resource centres.

Media - films, slides, tapes and other audio-visual materials - are generally recognised as valuable educational tools but in practice are not yet used to any great extent in adult education. These aids are perhaps too costly to be available for every educational programme, but resource centres might be maintained where packaged programmes would be available for use on call. In addition, "open universities for the underprivileged" might eventually become a possibility as governments develop nationwide media to provide continuing education for young and old drop-outs from the traditional system.

"Open" universities have already been inaugurated in Japan, Spain and the United Kingdom, and are being projected in several other OECD countries. Mobile resource centres are particularly popular in rural areas and serve to promote and enrich educational activities in remote places. The use of vans and minibuses to reach farmers and other rural workers is a unique way of responding to

their needs. Rural technology centres might serve as the base for mobile resource centres while simultaneously providing media and other informational materials. Aside from radio, video-taping is a powerful means of stimulating interest in local projects and of arousing a community's interest in its own development.

Attitude reinforcement approaches are being developed by means of:

a) leadership training;
b) "conscientisation" and literacy programmes for stimulating cultural awareness;
c) achievement motivation programmes;
d) organisational development group dynamics;
e) life and survival skills programmes;
f) community development carried out by action-researchers;
g) national or civic education (based on "self-renewal" programmes such as that developed by John Gardner in the United States).

CIVIC LITERACY AND CULTURAL PROGRAMMES

The general tendency to lay emphasis upon work-oriented programmes may lead to neglect of other areas of concern related to the solution of contemporary political, social and economic problems. What Warren Zeigler has called "civic literacy" - acquiring a set of competences with which to reconstruct society - is a major task for adult education but one which is so far a peripheral policy concern.

VIII. ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

Four possible futures for adult education may be envisaged within OECD Member countries:

a) to let it evolve, as in the past, in a spontaneous and sporadic fashion without reference to any explicit public intervention;

b) to strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities but not to perceive it as an active instrument of public policy in the social and economic arenas;

c) to strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities while simultaneously pursuing a positive policy of support for specific activities judged to be national priorities, for example, secondary education equivalency programmes designed to promote equality;

d) to create a comprehensive service of adult education as an integral element of broadly conceived educational systems and to relate its functions to the social, economic and cultural objectives of the nation.

The majority of countries at the present stage find themselves in (c), though some are clearly moving in the direction of (d) as a long-term strategy. The logical conclusion of the present paper is that it is essential to adopt a long-term policy based on a judicious mix of alternatives (c) and (d) - depending upon national circumstances - on the grounds that in an epoch of unprecedented flux active learning has become as much a social and personal imperative for the adult as for the child or young person.

The evidence derived from its past history yields no grounds for optimism that, in the absence of government intervention, adult education will ever be able to respond effectively to collective national and local needs or appeal to all sectors of society. If adult education is to realise its full potential as an instrument of public policy it is essential to:

i) establish a comprehensive and co-ordinated pluralist service commanding ample public resources;

ii) relate its functions to such national social concerns as an active manpower policy and the quality of life;

iii) integrate the formal (academic) and occupational training sector with regular education as part and parcel of a recurrent education system;

iv) initiate extraordinary measures to identify and satisfy un-met educational needs, not least those of persons adjudged to be disadvantaged.

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